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Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia

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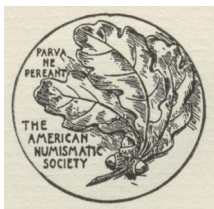
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# Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia

Based on the Collection of  
The American Numismatic Society

BY DAVID M. LANG



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## PREFACE

This work does not pretend to be a complete repertory of Georgian coinage. Such a publication would require many years of research with access to collections in the Soviet Union not at present available to Western scholars. But it should not be assumed that no fresh material is available to students in the West. The Museum of The American Numismatic Society, particularly since its acquisition of the collection of the late General Vsevolod Starosselsky, commander of the Persian Cossack Brigade, now possesses an exceptional range of coins, representing almost every period of Georgian numismatic history. No description of this section of the Museum's collection has ever been published. It is with a view to acquainting numismatists with the interest presented by this collection in particular, and by the monetary series of Georgia in general, that this monograph has been undertaken.

The work could not have been even contemplated without the guidance of Dr. George C. Miles, Chief Curator of the ANS Museum. In addition to giving unstinted advice on many problems of a technical order, Dr. Miles has undertaken virtually the entire work of decipherment and verification of the Arabic and Persian legends which occur on the majority of Georgian monetary issues. While acknowledging his great indebtedness to Dr. Miles' collaboration, the author accepts full responsibility for the defects of the present work.

The most generous facilities have been received from every department of the Museum. This kindness is the more appreciated since the research was carried out at a time when major structural alterations to the building imposed additional strain on the staff of the Museum.

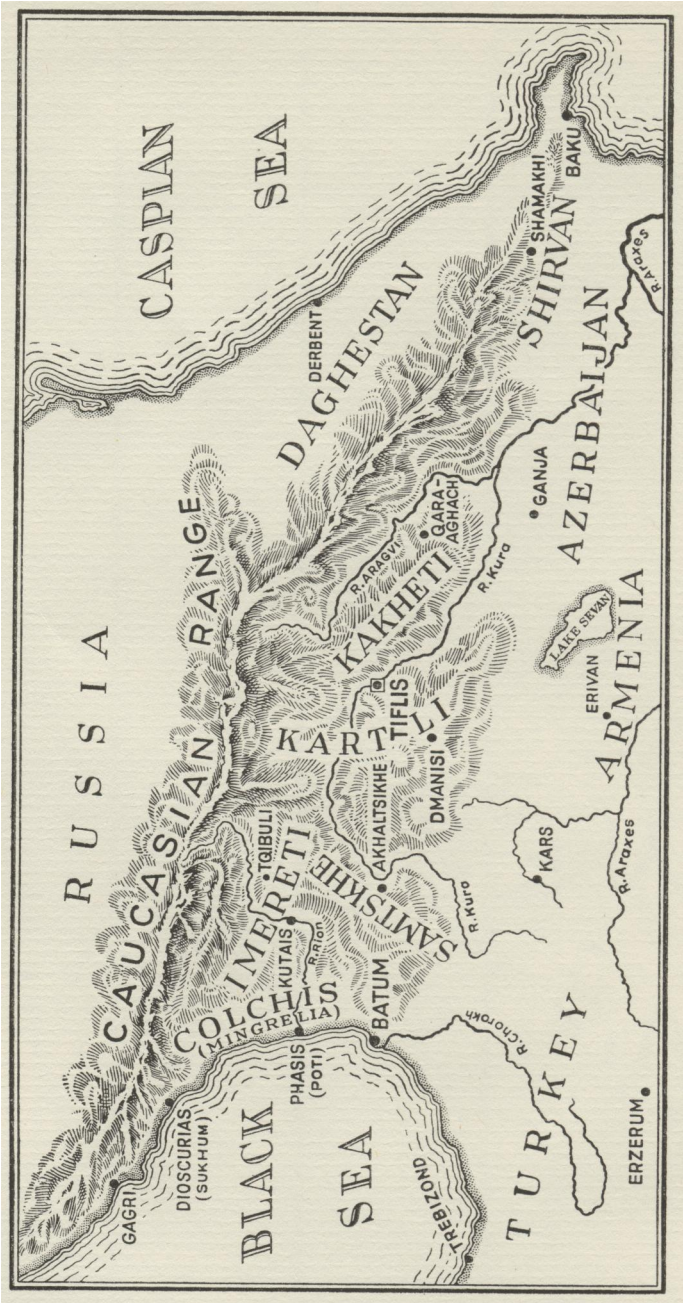
Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Russian Institute of Columbia University, which granted to the writer a Senior Fellowship in Georgian Studies for the year 1952-53, and to the colleagues and friends in New York and Washington who have given information and access to coins in their possession; also to Dr. John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, who kindly checked the work in proof.



# The GEORGIAN ALPHABET

No.	KHUTSURI (Ecclesiastical Capitals)	MKHEDRULI (Modern Alphabet)	Transliteration	Numerical Value
1	Ⴀ	ა	<i>a</i>	1
2	Ⴁ	ბ	<i>b</i>	2
3	Ⴂ	გ	<i>g</i>	3
4	Ⴃ	დ	<i>d</i>	4
5	Ⴄ	ე	<i>e</i>	5
6	Ⴅ	ვ	<i>v</i>	6
7	Ⴆ	ზ	<i>z</i>	7
8	Ⴇ	ყ	<i>ey</i>	8
9	Ⴈ	ო	<i>tʰ</i>	9
10	Ⴉ	ი	<i>i</i>	10
11	Ⴊ	კ	<i>k</i>	20
12	Ⴋ	ლ	<i>l</i>	30
13	Ⴌ	მ	<i>m</i>	40
14	Ⴍ	ნ	<i>n</i>	50
15	Ⴎ	რ	<i>y</i>	60
16	Ⴏ	ო	<i>o</i>	70
17	Ⴐ	პ	<i>p</i>	80
18	Ⴑ	ჟ	<i>ž [zh]</i>	90
19	Ⴒ	რ	<i>r</i>	100
20	Ⴓ	ს	<i>s</i>	200
21	Ⴔ	ტ	<i>t</i>	300
22	Ⴕ	უ	<i>u</i>	} 400
23	Ⴖ	ვ	<i>w [vi]</i>	
24	Ⴗ	ფ	<i>pʰ</i>	500
25	Ⴘ	ქ	<i>kʰ</i>	600
26	Ⴙ	ღ	<i>ğ [gh]</i>	700
27	Ⴚ	ყ	<i>q</i>	800

No.	KHUTSURI (Ecclesiastical Capitals)	MKHEDRULI (Modern Alphabet)	Transliteration	Numerical Value
28	Ⴀ	შ	sh [sh]	900
29	Ⴁ	ჩ	ch [ch]	1000
30	Ⴂ	ც	ts [ts]	2000
31	Ⴃ	ძ	dz	3000
32	Ⴄ	წ	ds [ds]	4000
33	Ⴅ	ჭ	tch [tch]	5000
34	Ⴆ	ხ	kh [kh]	6000
35	Ⴇ	ბ	bh [bh]	7000
36	Ⴈ	გ	j	8000
37	Ⴉ	დ	h	9000
38	Ⴊ	ე	ho [oy]	10000



THE CAUCASUS

## I. INTRODUCTORY

The numismatic history of the Caucasian kingdom of Georgia and its various principalities extends over more than two thousand years and presents a series of the most diverse types, reflecting the political and cultural influences to which the land was from time to time subjected. Colchis, or western Georgia, was renowned from mythical times as a source of precious metals, a fact illustrated by the legend of the Golden Fleece.

Some four centuries before our era, Greek colonies on Georgia's Black Sea coast were issuing their own currency, which circulated freely among the Georgian clans of the hinterland. The influence of Greek and Roman domination can be seen in a number of curious local imitations of the staters of Alexander the Great and Lysimachus, and later of the denarii of the Emperor Augustus.

During the sixth and seventh centuries after Christ, when Transcaucasia was a battleground between the Sasanian and Byzantine empires, eastern Georgia, the Iberia of the Ancients, began to evolve its own coinage. Starting as an adaptation of a familiar Sasanian model, this first Iberian series soon achieved a significant evolution towards a national, Christian iconography. Before long, however, the Arab conquest imposed a uniformity of style reflecting Georgia's subjection to the new might of Islam. On the decay of the Caliphate, the Emirs of Tiflis asserted their new-found autonomy in coinage of a distinctly particularist type.

By the tenth century, the Georgians were rising to full statehood. Close cultural ties with Byzantium resulted in the adoption of styles which, far from being slavish imitations, show strong and individual developments in Christian imagery. Under King David the Builder and Queen T'amar, during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Georgia profited by the weakening of Seljuk power to establish a kingdom extending from the North Caucasus into Anatolia on the one hand, and from the Black Sea into Azerbaijan on the other. In-

creasing intimacy with neighbouring Muslim principalities led to the adoption of a mixed style of coinage, embodying both National-Christian and Islamic elements. This did not, during Georgia's Golden Age, imply political dependence on the Muslim powers. Indeed the Georgian dynasts took pride in their Arabic legends in vaunting their role as Defender of the Christian Faith. Sometimes the Caliph's name was included as a gesture of conciliation to Georgia's many Muslim subjects, as well as to the inhabitants of neighbouring states, among whom economic considerations made it desirable that Georgia's coinage should circulate as widely as possible.

The Mongol domination, one of the most demoralizing periods in Georgia's history, is paradoxically enough one of the most fascinating in the history of her coinage. Two main series may be distinguished: the Hulaguid-Christian dirhems, bearing a cross and often the monogram of the Georgian vassal monarch; and the standard Il-Khanid issues, struck in the towns of Tiflis, Akhaltsikhe and Qarā-Aghāch just as in scores of other mint-towns in the Mongol empire of Persia and the Near East.

The onslaughts of Tamerlane, which occurred just when Georgia was recovering from the Mongol occupation, had a disastrous effect on the coinage. The few examples of Georgian national currency of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which have come to light bear witness to a sadly debased standard of quality and workmanship.

The Ottoman and Safavid empires early strove to subjugate Transcaucasia. The conquest of Georgia by Shah 'Abbās early in the seventeenth century and the suzerainty subsequently exercised by the court of Isfahan are commemorated by a long series of standard Safavid issues minted at Tiflis. In 1723 the Turks invaded and held the land for a few years, also leaving numismatic traces of their occupancy. The conqueror Nādir expelled the Turks in his turn, an event likewise recorded in the coinage.

Erekle II (1744-98) brought eastern Georgia half a century of somewhat precarious independence, during which time she had to manoeuvre between Persia and Russia. We alternately find on Erekle's coinage the Russian eagle and elements of wholly Persian affinity, though an individual ensemble is often achieved.

The death in 1800 of Giorgi XII, last king of K'art'lo-Kakhet'i,

resulted in the absorption of the country by Russia. For the first three decades of the century, a mint operated in Tiflis under Imperial authority to produce a distinct regional currency for the new province, the inscriptions being in Georgian characters. After 1834, Georgia employed standard Russian currency.

The collapse of the Empire in 1917 was followed by the emergence of small national states from amidst its component parts. One of these was the Georgian Republic, which maintained its independence under the Presidency of the late Noah Jordania until Soviet armed invasion in 1921 brought the country under Bolshevik rule. This was a period of crisis and inflation, as is shown by the note issue of the period. At present, the standard currency of the Soviet Union circulates in Georgia exclusively. Owing to its bulk and heterogeneous nature, however, the description of Georgia's 20th century currency has been reserved for a separate study.

\* \* \*

The study of the coinage of Georgia has long attracted the attention of numismatists. The illustrious Fraehn did much to clarify the tangled web of the Il-Khanid period in Georgia. In 1844, a Georgian nobleman in the Russian service, Prince Michael Barataev (Barat'ashvili) (1784-1856), published the first attempt at a systematic classification of the Georgian coins then known. Barataev's work met with penetrating, if somewhat harsh criticism by the Academician and historian of Georgia, M.-F. Brosset (1802-1880). For his part, Brosset maintained a correspondence on the subject with the eminent numismatist, General J. de Bartholomaei (1812-1870). This correspondence, together with Bartholomaei's letters to Soret on Oriental coins, are among our most valuable guides to Georgian medieval coinage. Meanwhile, the French savant Victor Langlois (1829-1869) was preparing his two historical and descriptive surveys of the coins of Georgia, which appeared in 1852 and 1860. In spite of some defects of detail, the second of these remains a valuable work of reference, and has yet to be superseded.

After this deployment of scholarly resource, the subject slumbered for half a century, until there appeared in 1910 the first section of E. A. Pakhomov's treatise on the coinage of Georgia, extending to

the reign of Queen Rusudan. The second half, which would have comprised the Mongol and subsequent periods, was completed and printed, but prevented by the vicissitudes of war and revolution from being published. This is greatly to be regretted in view of the admirable thoroughness of the first volume. To this day, Pakhomov continues to do most valuable work by classifying and publishing particulars of hoards dug up in Transcaucasia.

In the West, Professor Joseph Karst of Strassburg published in 1938 a concise but serviceable summary of Georgian numismatic history, together with a study of Georgian metrology.

Finally, we must mention the work of the Coin Room of the Georgian State Museum at Tiflis. In the bulletin of that institution have been appearing over the last decade a series of excellent articles by David Kapanadze and T'amar Lomouri, describing new finds and suggesting fresh attributions of known varieties. These articles being written in Georgian, it is to be feared that they will not achieve the notice they deserve in the numismatic world generally. They have been of great service in preparing the following pages.

\* \* \*

#### *A Note on Georgian Chronology*

Until the late eighteenth century, none of the coins of Georgia are dated according to the Christian era. Georgian national chronology as employed during the medieval period is based on a Paschal Cycle of 532 years, known as the K'oronikon. The first cycle during which this method of computation was used began in the year 781 A.D. (K'oronikons 1 = 781 A.D.).

This was theoretically the thirteenth cycle. In principle, the cyclic series goes back to the Creation, which the Georgians set at 5604 B.C. The scholiasts who evolved this system of chronology, probably early in the ninth century, were able to compute that in the year 780 A.D., exactly twelve cycles had elapsed (5604 plus 780 equals 6384; 6384 divided by 532 equals 12). Why the year 780 was chosen as a point of departure remains obscure; it may have had some historical connection with the establishment of Bagratid rule in Georgia.

The year of the K'oronikon is normally inscribed on coins and charters in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscule letters ("asomt'avruli"), which can readily be equated with their numerical values. To take an example, the silver dirhem of Queen Rusudan bears the date ԳԼ equivalent to 450 of the K'oronikon, i.e., 1230 A.D. (780 plus 450 equals 1230). The possibility has to be borne in mind that the date might belong to the next K'oronikon, beginning in 1312 A.D. This would bring one to the year 1762 A.D., which can be ruled out, as in other cases, by historical and stylistic evidence.

In addition, the Hijra era is found on most series from the Arab conquest until the Russian occupation. This may occur either instead of or in conjunction with the year of the Georgian K'oronikon.



## II. THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The monetary series of Georgia begins with the coins of Colchis, that area on the eastern shores of the Black Sea which comprises the present-day Mingrelia, Imeret'i and adjoining territories. As is well known, Greek colonists from Miletus maintained settlements and trading stations there from the seventh century B.C. onwards. The most important of these were Dioscurias, near the present-day Sukhum in Abkhazia, and Phasis, at the mouth of the river of that name, the modern Rion.

Six types of Colchian coin, conveniently termed "Kolkhidki" in the Russian literature, are listed and illustrated in recent articles by the Soviet numismatists A. N. Zograf and D. G. Kapanadze.<sup>1</sup> Three of them are new to science. The ANS has only the best-known and most widely distributed variety of Kolkhidka. Two of the six specimens in the collection are illustrated.

### 1. Hemidrachm Colchis circa 400 B.C.

Obv. Female head, right, of archaic or archaistic style. Hair falls in three tresses down the back of the neck. Border of dots.

Rev. Bull's head, right, within linear circle.

Ⓐ 12 mm. → 1.99 gr.

PLATE I, 1.

### 1 A. Similar to preceding, but head on obverse with four tresses of hair.

Ⓐ 12 mm. ↑ 2.27 gr.

PLATE I, 2.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Zograf, "Rasprostranenie nakhodok antichnykh monet na Kavkaze," in *Gosudarstvennyy Ermitazh: Trudy Otdela Numizmatiki*, tom I, Leningrad, 1945, pp. 29-85, with plates and map; D. G. Kapanadze, "Zametki po numizmatike drevney Kolkhidy," in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1950, pp. 193-96.

The other four specimens in the ANS collection are as follows: —

- a) 11 mm. → 1.63 gr.
- b) 11 mm. ← 1.84 gr.
- c) 11 mm. ↓ 2.19 gr.
- d) 11 mm. ← 2.29 gr.

Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 495; Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1533–36; Grose, *McClean Collection*, III, p. 2; Wroth, *B. M. Catalogue of Greek Coins (Pontus, etc.)*, p. 4; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, Pl. I, Nos. 1–5. Pakhomov also illustrates a variety with the bull's head to left.

Specimens have also been recorded with the Greek letters MO, O, A or Φ beneath the head on the obverse.

Head's view that this type originated about 400 B.C. is followed by the majority of authorities, though Grose inclines to the period 500–470. The Soviet archaeologist V. M. Skudnova recently published a specimen discovered in excavations in the Tauric Chersonese among some pottery of a period not later than the second half of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> But this does not prove that the coin itself is anything like as early as this.

These little hemidrachms are dug up in scores in Mingrelia, Guria and Imeret'i, and have even been used as shot-gun pellets by local hunters.<sup>2</sup> They probably continued to be minted over a considerable period of years, perhaps right up to the second century B.C.

Of much greater rarity is a Colchian didrachm, one of the few known specimens of which, formerly in the Jameson Collection, and later in the possession of Dr. Jacob Hirsch of New York, is now in the collection of Dr. E. S. G. Robinson.<sup>3</sup> Its present owner has kindly allowed us to examine and describe this highly interesting piece.

## 2. Didrachm Colchis c. 400 B.C.

Obv. Female head, right, with hair falling in tresses down the back of the neck, within linear circle.

<sup>1</sup> V. M. Skudnova, "Nakhodki kolkhidskikh monet i pifosov v Nimfee," in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 2, 1952, pp. 238–42.

<sup>2</sup> Zograf, "Rasprostranenie nakhodok," p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Collection R. Jameson*, IV, 1932, p. 62, No. 2543 (Pl. CXXXIV); Hess Sale, Lucerne, April 14, 1954, No. 134.

Rev. Two female heads, facing one another, each in square incuse.

Æ (base silver) 21 mm. ↗ 10.40 gr.

PLATE I, 3.

Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1535-36, No. 2966; Zograf, "Rasprostranenie nakhodok," Pl. I, No. 3, and p. 36, note 1 (with refs. to earlier literature); Kapanadze, in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1950, No. 3. Not in Head.

Makalat'ia, a prominent specialist on Georgian folk-lore, makes the interesting suggestion that the long-haired female figure on Colchian coins is to be identified with the Georgian wood goddess Dali, whose cult corresponds to that of Artemis in Greek mythology.<sup>1</sup>

The Warren Collection now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, includes another Colchian didrachm, of a type entirely different from the preceding. It was formerly in the Greenwell Collection. In view of the uncommon interest presented by this coin, its description is repeated here by kind courtesy of the Curator of the Boston Museum's classical collection.

### 3. Didrachm Colchis 500 B.C. or later.

Obv. Crouching (hermaphrodite) lion, to right, with head turned back. Long mane, prominent teats.

Rev. Kneeling human figure, with bull's or ox's head, somewhat resembling a minotaur, in oblong incuse. Collar around neck.

Æ 21 mm. ← 7.87 gr.

PLATE I, 4.

Boston Museum, *Brett Catalogue*, No. 1352; W. Greenwell, in *NumChron*, 1893, p. 88; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 495; Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, p. 154, No. 973. See also Yakunchikov, *Drevne-grecheskie monety*, Nos. 48-49; Zograf, "Rasprostranenie nakhodok," Pl. I, Nos. 1-2; Kapanadze, in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1950, No. 6.

The enigmatic figures depicted on this coin may one day throw light on the primitive beliefs of the Georgians and Abkhazians, in whose cults they probably have their origin. A parallel may be drawn between this bull-headed human figure and some of the monsters depicted in G. Contenau's *Glyptique Syro-Hittite*.

<sup>1</sup> S. Makalat'ia, "Kolkhuri didrak'ma," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, VII, 1933, p. 202. (This article also in English translation: "Colchian Didrachmas," in *Georgica*, I, Nos. 2-3, London, 1936, pp. 72-77).

Another, and so far inedited variety of this coin in the British Museum collection (ex-Feuardent) shows the lion crouching to left, and the kneeling figure in a somewhat different posture. We intend shortly to publish this specimen in a separate study.

To round off the numismatic history of Colchis, we add here particulars of the three new types of Colchian silver coins recently published by Soviet scholars. Illustrations of them will be found on the plate facing page 194 of D. G. Kapanadze's article in the journal *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1950, which is available in the ANS and other scholarly libraries.

- (a) Tetradrachm (Kapanadze, No. 1)  
Obv. Lion's head, left; mouth open, showing fangs and tongue.  
Rev. Winged Pegasus, right, in square incuse.  
Æ 22-23 mm. 13.80 gr.  
[Unique. State Museum of Georgia, Tiflis.]
- (b) Drachm (Kapanadze, No. 4)  
Obv. Lion's head, facing; bristling mane.  
Rev. Bull's head, right, as in Nos. 1 and 1A of the present monograph, but in square incuse.  
Æ 18 mm. 5.52 gr.  
[Unique. K'ut'ais Museum, Georgia.]
- (c) Hemidrachm (Kapanadze, No. 2)  
Obv. Lion's head, right; mouth open, showing fangs; long mane.  
Rev. Lioness's head, right, in square incuse.  
Æ 15 mm. 2.21-2.6 gr.  
[3 specimens. State Museum of Georgia, Tiflis.]

In addition to these Greek influences from the west, many of the Georgian clans were tributaries of the Persian Achaemenid empire. After its collapse, Iranian overlordship was replaced by that of Alexander of Macedon. Barbarous local imitations of the staters of Alexander and of Lysimachus circulated in Transcaucasia, and are found in Abkhazia, Atchara and Imeret'i in Western Georgia, as well as in K'art'lo-Kakhet'i to the east, the Iberia of the ancients.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Zograf, "Antichnye zolotyie monety Kavkaza," in *Izvestiya Gos. Akademii Istorii Material'noy Kul'tury*, fasc. 110, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935,

While Georgian imitations of the staters of Lysimachus reach in their latest stage an extreme degree of picturesque distortion, those of the third to second centuries are quite close to their prototype. Two examples are known on which the name of Lysimachus has been, as it were, cut in half, leaving only the final portion: AKOU (or AKHOU). Kapanadze was at first disposed to regard this as the name of a hitherto unknown King of Colchis, but L. P. Kharko made it clear beyond reasonable doubt that it is but the product of a local die-engraver's negligence or whim.<sup>1</sup>

The ANS collection has two imitations of the Alexander stater which, though of uncertain provenance, closely resemble the Georgian type. They belong to a late stage of degradation. Their attribution to Georgia is strengthened by their high-rimmed hammered edges, characteristic of other specimens of undisputed Caucasian provenance. They are similar to a couple received from Colchis via Erzerum by Prokesch-Osten in 1859.<sup>2</sup>

4. Obv. Head of Athena, right, grotesquely distorted. In field, to left, two pellets; to right, four pellets.

Rev. Degradation of winged Nike. In field, above, one pellet; below, one pellet; to left, five pellets; to right, three pellets.

Α 16 mm. ↗ 2.60 gr.

PLATE I, 5.

Kapanadze, in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1949, p. 158, Pl. I, No. 2.

- 4A. Obv. Head of Athena, right, distorted even further than in preceding example. To left, one pellet; to right, four pellets.

Rev. Degradation of winged Nike. Above, left, two pellets; right, four pellets.

Α 18 mm. ↑ 3.21 gr.

PLATE I, 6.

*Ibid.*, No. 3.

pp. 178–92; D. G. Kapanadze, "O drevneyshikh zolotykh monetakh Gruzii," in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1949, pp. 156–69; A. N. Zograf, *Antichnye Monety*, Moscow, 1951, p. 102, Pl. XII, Nos. 14–18.

<sup>1</sup> D. G. Kapanadze, "Novye materialy k izucheniyu staterov tsarya AKI," in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 1, 1948, and "O dostovernosti imeni, vybitogo na statere Basilevsa Aki," *ibid.*, No. 1, 1949; L. P. Kharko, "Sushchestvovali tsar' ΑΚΗΣ?," *ibid.*, No. 2, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Baron Prokesch-Osten, "Description de quelques médailles grecques," in *Revue Numismatique*, 1860, p. 274, Pl. XII, Nos. 10–11.

The ascription of certain groups of Alexander and Lysimachus imitations to Georgia does not, of course, affect the long-established attribution of other groups to the Danubian Celts and other European tribes. This fact is overlooked by Kapanadze when criticizing Forrer and Paulsen for "ignoring" such coins' possible Georgian provenance.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of Mithradates Eupator, Colchis fell under the sway of Pontus. From this period dates an interesting bronze issue of the Greek colony of Dioscurias on the Black Sea coast of Abkhazia, two specimens of which are in the ANS collection.

5. Obv. Caps of the Dioscuri, surmounted by six- or eight-pointed stars.

Rev.

Δ Ι		Ο Σ	
Κ Ο Υ		Ρ Ι Α	Thyrsos
Δ		Ο Σ	

Æ 16 mm. 3.83-5.47 gr.

PLATE I, 7, 8.

Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 496; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 632, Pl. IX, No. 28; *B. M. Catalogue of Greek Coins (Pontus etc.)*, Pl. I, Nos. 11-12.

The invasion of Georgia by Pompey in 65 B.C. brought the country firmly into the Roman orbit. Pompey appointed Aristarchus to be dynast of Colchis (c. 63-47 B.C.). A silver coin of Aristarchus in the Leningrad Hermitage shows on the obverse the head of Helios (?), and on the reverse, a seated female figure.<sup>2</sup> The occupation of Georgia by the Roman legions further resulted in local imitations of denarii of the Emperor Augustus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, No. 3, 1949, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 496; O. Retovsky, "Drakhma Aristarkha Kolkhidskogo iz sobraniya Imp. Ermitazha," in *Trudy Moskovskogo Numizmaticheskogo Obshchestva*, III, 1905, pp. 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bartholomaei, *Lettres Numismatiques et Archéologiques relatives à la Transcaucasie*, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 25; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, Pl. I, No. 7; Zograf, "Rasprostranenie nakhodok," Pl. II, Nos. 2-6.

### III. SASANIAN AND ARAB DOMINATION

The evangelization of Georgia by St. Nino at the time of Constantine the Great profoundly altered the course of the country's political and cultural evolution. Georgia became an outpost of Christendom in the East, in spite of repeated efforts by the Sasanians to bring the country back into the Iranian Mazdeist sphere.

This conflict is exemplified in the coinage of the sixth and seventh century princes of Iberia, Guaram I and Stephen I and II. The various types are all derivations from the drachm of the Sasanian monarch Hormizd IV (A.D. 579-90). They show a steadily increasing tendency towards independence, beginning with the addition to the obverse design of the Georgian prince's monogram, and ending with the substitution of the Christian cross for the sacred flame portrayed upon the fire-altar on the reverse.<sup>1</sup>

Two Sasanian-type pieces in the ANS collection which had been taken for Georgian imitations fail on examination to show these characteristic traits. They apparently belong in fact to the Central Asian category.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter in Georgian numismatic history was brought to an abrupt end by the capture of Tiflis by the Arabs about the year 655 A.D. The Arab hegemony over Eastern Georgia is marked by a series of dirhems of standard type struck at Tiflis in the name of the Caliphs, beginning with an Umayyad dirhem of A. H. 85.

Of the set of examples described and illustrated by Pakhomov,<sup>3</sup> the single specimen in the ANS collection is a dirhem of the 'Abbāsid

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomaei, *Lettres Numismatiques*; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 15-36, Pls. I-II; Prince C. Toumanoff, "Iberia on the eve of Bagratid rule, Excursus C: Coins of the Princes of Iberia," in *Le Muséon*, LXV, Louvain, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> One of these two is apparently the identical specimen described in Schulman's catalogue of March 30, 1914, No. 362. Incidentally, there can be little doubt that the coin described as "Georgian"-Sasanian in the Grantley sale catalogue (Schulman, Amsterdam, 1921), No. 1605, is really Central Asian. The second of these two doubtful items in the ANS collection resembles the variety described in the White King catalogue (Schulman, Amsterdam, 1904), No. 855.

<sup>3</sup> *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 36-48, Pl. II, Nos. 23-29.

Caliph al-Muktafi (A.H. 289–95), struck in the year 294 of the Islamic era.

6. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 294/906–7 A.D.

Obv.	لا اله الا	There is no god but
	الله وحده	Allāh alone.
	لا شريك له	He has no associate.

Inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بتفليس سنة اربع وتسعين ومائتين

In the name of Allāh, this dirhem was struck at Tiflis in the year 294.

Outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3–4.

Rev.	الله	To Allāh
	محمد	Muḥammad
	رسول	Is the Messenger
	الله	Of Allāh
	المكتفى بالله	al-Muktafi bi'llāh.

Margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33.

Æ 26 mm. 2.93 gr.

PLATE I, 9.

Tiesenhhausen, *Monety Vostochnogo Khalifata*, No. 2197; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 42–43, Pl. II, No. 24.

In the year 912, mention is made of a lieutenant of the Caliph at Tiflis by the name of Ja'far b. 'Alī. Following the disintegration of the 'Abbāsid caliphate towards the middle of the tenth century, control over the city and district of Tiflis remained vested for nearly two centuries in this Ja'far's line.

These Ja'farid emirs now began to strike a series of silver dirhems in their own name. So far, there have been recorded coins of Manṣūr



b. Ja'far struck in 342/953-4 and 343/954-5, during the caliphate of al-Muṭṭi' li'llāh; also of this emir's son Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr, dated 364/974-5, 366/976-7 and 370/980-1, in the caliphate of al-Ṭā'i' li'llāh.<sup>1</sup>

This list has recently been amplified by the discovery near Tiflis of a dirhem minted in 386/996-7 by the emir of Tiflis, 'Alī b. Ja'far, son and successor of Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr. This coin, first published by the Georgian numismatist, D. Kapanadze,<sup>2</sup> does not differ essentially from those of this ruler's father and grandfather. It is of the usual 'Abbāsīd type, with the conventional three-line declaration of faith on the obverse, together with the mint-date formula and an outer margin containing Qur'ān XXX, 3-4. On the reverse as follows: —

محمد	Muḥammad
رسول الله	Is the Messenger of Allāh
الطابع لله	al-Ṭā'i' li'llāh
الامير المظفر	al-Amīr al-Muṣaffar
علي بن جعفر	'Alī b. Ja'far.

And the usual marginal legend.

Kapanadze notes with some surprise that this dirhem, dated A.H. 386, is struck in the name of the Caliph al-Ṭā'i', who had been deposed five years earlier. This apparent inconsistency is due to the fact that the Baghdad coup d'état of A.H. 381 aroused widespread opposition and a determined legitimist movement in favour of the deposed Caliph. For several years a number of outlying regions of Islam, notably in Persia, refused to recognize the new Caliph, al-Qādir.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that the Emir of Tiflis was among those who stood out against the new order.

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>2</sup> D. Kapanadze, "X saukunis T'biluri drama Ali ben Jap'arisa," in *Sak'art'velos sakhelmdsip'o muzeumis moambe*, XIIB, 1944, 183-90.

<sup>3</sup> George C. Miles, *Numismatic History of Rayy*, New York, 1938, pp. 173-76. The deposed al-Ṭā'i' did not die until A.H. 393.

A sequel to this story is supplied by a hitherto unchronicled item in the ANS collection. The description of this piece, which formerly belonged to General Starosselsky, is as follows: —

7. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. \*\*4.

Obv. لا اله الا                      There is no god but

الله وحده                      Allāh alone.

.....

لا شريك له                      He has no associate.

القادر بالله                      al-Qādir bi'llāh.

Inner margin: ..... هذا الدرهم (sic) بتفليس سنة اربع (?) .....  
 .....this dirhem at Tiflis, year \*\*4..... [A.H. 394, 404 or 414]

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX, 3-4.

Rev. لله                      To Allāh

محمد                      Muḥammad

رسول الله الام [ير]                      Is the Messenger of Allāh; the Am[ir]

.....

المظفر ابو ..... Victorious, Abū .....

على بن جم [فر]                      'Alī b. Ja'[far].

Margin: Traces of Qur'ān IX, 33.

R 23 mm. 4.12 gr.

PLATE I, 10.

This is a coin of thick, somewhat crude fabric. Its individual style of design and layout reflects a distinct trend towards political independence. Note the *kunyah*, partly effaced on this specimen, not

found on the same Emir's standard-type dirhem of A.H. 386. An unusual feature is the horizontal line of thick dots running across the centre of both obverse and reverse.

The exact date of the coin cannot be determined, only the last figure of the formula, namely a four, being decipherable. By the time it was minted, 'Alī b. Ja'far had recognized al-Qādir (A.H. 381-422) as Caliph. Since he was still maintaining allegiance to al-Ṭā'ī<sup>1</sup> in 386, we have the possibilities A.H. 394, 404 or 414. Beyond this, one cannot for the moment be more precise.

With regard to the historical background, it is recorded that this 'Alī b. Ja'far pillaged the treasure of the Cathedral of the Living Pillar at Mtskheta. His son, Ja'far, took part in an expedition against Ganja in 421/1030 and died about 1046. Ja'far's two sons, Manšūr and Abū'l Hayjā', quarrelled in their bid for power, and were expelled in 1062 by the Tiflis citizens. They were arrested by the Sultan Alp Arslān on his invasion of Georgia in 1068.<sup>1</sup>

By combining the historical and numismatic evidence, we arrive at the following table of Ja'farid Emirs of the period, with their approximate dates:

Ja'far b. 'Alī	A.H. 299	A.D. 912
Manšūr b. Ja'far	342-43	953-55
Ja'far b. Manšūr	364-70	974-81
'Alī b. Ja'far	386-94	996-1003
Ja'far b. 'Alī II	421-38	1030-46
Manšūr b. Ja'far II	438-61	1046-68
Abū'l-Hayjā'		

A postscript to this account of the Emirs of Tiflis is provided by the twelfth century Arab historian Ibn al-Azraq. Describing the situation at Tiflis in A.H. 515/1121-22, this writer says: "For forty years the latter had been in the hands of the population. Its possessors had been a family of local people called Banū-Ja'far for about two hundred years, after which the senior members among them became ruined and their affairs got into confusion, and the administration of Tiflis reverted to the population, of whom every month one administered

<sup>1</sup> V. Minorsky, article "Tiflis" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953, pp. 19, 23, 46.

its affairs. Thus they carried on for forty years. Malik Dāvūd, (who) was the king of the Gurj and the Abkhāz [i.e. King David the Builder, 1089–1125], brought the town to great straits and it got into confusion.”

Ibn al-Azraq goes on to tell of the Georgian king David’s siege of Tiflis in 1122: “Then he breached the walls from the western side and entered the town by the sword. He burnt it and utterly destroyed it, but after three days granted *amān* to its people and soothed their hearts and left them alone, in all goodness. For that year he abrogated their taxes, services, payments by instalments and the *kharāj*. He guaranteed to the Muslims everything they wished, according to the pact which is valid even today. In it (it is stipulated) that pigs should not be brought over to the Muslim side nor to the town, and that they should not be slaughtered there or in the market. He struck dirhams for them, on one side of which stood the names of the sultan and the caliph, and on the other side stood the names of God and the Prophet, on him be peace, (whereas) the king’s own name stood on a side of the dirham. . . . He assessed a Georgian at a rate of 5 dinars per annum, a Jew at 4 dinars, and a Muslim at 3 dinars. He was extremely kind to the Muslims . . .

“I witnessed all these privileges when I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153. And I saw how the king of the Abkhāz, Dimitri, in whose service I was, arrived in Tiflis and sojourned there some days. The same Friday he came to the cathedral mosque and sat on a platform opposite the preacher and he remained at his place while the preacher preached and the people prayed and he listened to the *khutba*, all of it. Then he went out and granted for the mosque 200 gold dinars.”<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the instances where literary and numismatic data coincide and supplement one another. Copper coins fitting Ibn al-Azraq’s description, with the Georgian king’s name or monogram on the obverse, and the Caliph’s name on the reverse, were indeed struck in large numbers under King David’s successor, Dimitri (1125–55). We now know that the presence of the Caliph’s name was not a sign of political dependence, but a conciliatory gesture to the Muslim inhabitants of the Georgian capital.

<sup>1</sup> V. Minorsky, “Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqin,” in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIII, part 1, London, 1949, pp. 31–34.

#### IV. THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE BAGRATIDS

##### *Bagrat III (975-1014)*

While the Ja'farid Emirs held sway in Tiflis, the energetic scions of the Bagratid house had risen to power in the south-western marchlands of Tao-Klarjet'i.<sup>1</sup> As a result of their skilful diplomacy and warlike prowess, Bagrat III, King of K'art'li and Kuropalates, found himself from 1008 the ruler of an extensive unified state, including the old kingdom of Abkhazia and parts of south-western Georgia. His authority did not extend to the city of Tiflis itself, which remained the metropolis of the Muslims, though the Georgian dynasts controlled most of the adjoining territory.<sup>2</sup>

This situation is reflected in the coinage of Bagrat III. A unique silver coin of his reign in the Hermitage collection, while for the most part a slavish imitation of an obsolete type of early 'Abbāsid dirhem, bears on the reverse a legend in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules (asomt'avruli), reading: O Christ, exalt Bagrat, king of the Abkhazians. This is the only specimen of Bagrat III's coinage to bear a Georgian legend.<sup>3</sup>

There is however a relatively common transitional prototype, on which no Georgian legend yet appears. This prototype is simply a slavish Georgian imitation of the 'Abbāsid dirhem, which had become scarce in Transcaucasia through the drain of silver currency out of the Near East into Russia and Scandinavia. Three specimens are in the ANS collection.

8. Dirhem Tiflis (?) N.D.

Obv. Crudely inscribed.

<sup>1</sup> On the rare Byzantine-type coins of David the Great of Tao, see Pakhomov, pp. 55-57.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 84-85.

<sup>3</sup> Langlois, in *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1864, pp. 202-5; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 58-60, Pl. III, No. 37.

لا اله الا	There is no god but
(sic) اله اده	Allāh alone.
(sic) لاشك له	He has no associate.

Margin: Illiterate imitation of Arabic pious legend.

Double border of dots.

Rev. Crudely inscribed.

محمد	Muḥammad
(sic) رسو	Is the Messenger
الله	Of Allāh

Beneath, on one specimen only:

(sic) تيفيس	Tif[l]is
-------------	----------

Margin, between border of dots and outer linear border: Illiterate imitation of Arabic pious legend.

AR 22–23 mm. 1.57–1.80 gr.

PLATE I, II, 12.

Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, p. 60, Pl. III, Nos. 38–39.

The specimen bearing the distorted mint name Tiflis beneath the reverse inscription appears to be unique. So far as can be ascertained, Bagrat III was never in control of that capital city. On the other hand, if these imitations had been struck by the Ja‘farid Emirs, one would have expected a higher degree of literacy in the Arabic inscriptions. However this may be, there is no doubt that these coins were current in Georgia under Bagrat III, to whose reign they may most conveniently be attributed.

\* \* \*

Of Bagrat IV (1027–72) we have silver coins of Byzantine affinity, showing on the obverse the Holy Virgin, and having on the reverse a pious formula embodying the king’s Byzantine titles of Nobilissimus

and Sebastos. His son and successor Giorgi II (1072–89) retained this style of design, inscribing on the reverse his imperial title of Caesar.

During these two reigns, Georgia suffered greatly from the depredations of the Seljuk Turks, who occupied the Armenian capital of Ani in 1064, raided Eastern Georgia in 1068, and defeated the Byzantine army at Manazkert in 1071, capturing the Emperor Romanus Diogenes.

Under David the Builder (1089–1125), important victories were won over the Turks, whose military potential was impaired by the campaigns of the Crusaders in the Levant. The Seljuks were rapidly ejected from most of Georgia, and Tiflis was re-taken from the Muslims in 1122.

David the Builder's coins are extremely rare: the few pieces as yet known retain the image of the Holy Virgin on the obverse, and show on the reverse a cross surrounded by the king's name and titles.

Dimitri I (1125–55) minted copper only. Several patterns of his coinage are known, abandoning Byzantine forms in favour of reversion to a hybrid Georgian-Muslim type. The obverse of one variety has the king's initial "D" in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscule, together with his title "Sword of the Messiah" in Arabic, while the reverse, from motives of political expediency, bears the name of the Caliph of Baghdad.<sup>1</sup>

David V's short reign, possibly cut short by assassination, has apparently left us no coins.

### *Giorgi III (1156–1184)*

Giorgi was a monarch of ferocious and determined disposition. He came to the throne after a sanguinary family feud, excluding and suppressing the legitimate heir, Demna, grandson of King Dimitri I.

In the absence of any example of Giorgi's coinage in the ANS collection, the opportunity has been taken to include a copper coin of his reign from the collection of Mr. William L. Clark.

<sup>1</sup> For the monetary series of these reigns, which are not represented in the ANS collection, see Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 61–86. Karst's p. 48, No. 10, attributed to David the Builder, really belongs to the two Davids, Narin and Ulugh (c. 1261). Pakhomov's is the only work to do justice to this rather obscure period of Georgia's numismatic history.

9. Copper [Tiflis] A.D. 1174.

Obv. King seated cross-legged, facing. On his head, a crown with hanging tassels, surmounted by a cross. The king is bearded and attired in a close-fitting tunic, loose trousers after the Persian fashion, and boots. His left hand rests on his thigh, on his right hand uplifted sits a falcon. To the right of the king's head (as viewed by the spectator), in Georgian mkhedruli characters:  $\overline{80}$  GiorgI.

Below, right, a monogram formed from the Georgian ecclesiastical characters  $\text{ⴊⴓ}$  (GiorgI).

Under monogram, traces of Georgian ecclesiastical characters:  $\text{ⴊⴓⴑ}$  K'oRoniKons.

To left, between falcon and king's head, traces of ecclesiastical characters  $\text{ⴊⴓⴑ}$ , representing the date 394 of the Paschal Cycle, or 1174 A.D.

Rev.  $\text{ملك الملوك}$

King of Kings

$\text{گيورگي بن ديمطري}$

Giorgi, son of Dimitri,

$\text{حسام المسيح}$

Sword of the Messiah.

Border of dots.

Æ 22 mm. 4.96 gr.

PLATE II, I.

M. Barataev, *Numismaticheskije fakty Gruzinskogo tsarstva*, St. Petersburg, 1844, section III, Pl. I, pp. 6-12; V. Langlois, *Essai de Classification des Suites Monétaires de la Géorgie*, Paris, 1860, p. 55, Pl. IV, No. 1; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, p. 90, Pls. VI, Nos. 107-8 and VII, No. 109.

It is noteworthy that from Dimitri I (1125-55) until the reign of Rusudan, copper only was minted in Georgia. This was a result of the silver famine affecting the entire Near East at this period. "Shortly before the year 1000 A.D., a remarkable, omnipresent shortage of silver affected the Mahometan world. Within a brief space of time it practically ceased to be coined at all in the majority of the Islamic states and fractional currency in base metals took its place alongside of the gold dinars, which continued to circulate."<sup>1</sup> In Georgia, many of these fractional copper coins still bore on them the denomination "vetskli," which properly signifies a silver piece.

<sup>1</sup> Robert P. Blake, "The Circulation of silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol epoch," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 1937, p. 291.



Among the complex causes for this phenomenon features the expansion of the Russian and Scandinavian export trade to the Islamic world, resulting in the draining off of silver currency to the North Western Slavonic and Baltic lands. The effect of this became acute when the Arabs lost control of the Transcaucasian silver mines late in the ninth century, and the local rulers showed themselves deficient in mining and refining technique. Furthermore, the tottering Sāmānid dynasty lost control about the year 975 of the important Zarafshān silver mines in Turkestan, which had supplied the whole Muslim East. The upheavals incident on the disintegration of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, together with the ruin of the Bulgar kingdom on the Volga, interrupted trade relations between Russia and the Near East. Accumulations of silver by Russian exporters were hoarded, and never returned to their source. The Seljuk invasions of the eleventh century ended by driving a wedge between the Slavonic and Arab worlds. Georgia could not remain unaffected by these developments, though the minting of silver there continued until the reign of David the Builder (1089–1125).

This famine was brought to an end during the thirteenth century. The Mongol conquest of China in 1213 drew off large quantities of silver to the West, where it was seized upon by the trading public and put into circulation.<sup>1</sup> In Georgia, the restoration of the silver supply was to enable Queen Rusudan to reform the coinage by the issue of her famous “Botinats” of the year 1230.

#### *Queen T‘amar (1184–1213)*

The name of T‘amar is endowed with legendary splendor in the annals of Georgia. The military might of the Georgian kingdom made itself felt throughout Persia and Eastern Anatolia, while the national literature reached its apogee in the heroic romance of Shot‘a Rust‘aveli.

The coinage of T‘amar’s reign is disappointing, and fails to reflect the glory of the age. Surprisingly enough, no attempt was made to strike gold. Owing to the silver famine, copper fractional currency provides the only monetary series of the reign. Even here, the work-


<sup>1</sup> Blake, “The Circulation of silver,” p. 328.

manship leaves much to be desired. The irregular coppers are little more than rudely fashioned lumps of metal of various sizes, stamped haphazardly with a die often too big or too small for the planchet.

T'amar's father, Giorgi III, had already proclaimed her as co-regent some six years before his death. T'amar's first husband, a dissolute scion of the Bogolyubskoy family of Suzdal, was also called Giorgi (Yury). There is therefore some difficulty in attributing the earliest type of T'amar's coinage, which is inscribed with the names of both Giorgi and T'amar, but without date. Pakhomov inclines to the view that this Giorgi is the Bogolyubskoy Prince-Consort while Kapanadze cogently argues for the attribution to Giorgi III reigning with his daughter.<sup>1</sup> As it seems quite inadmissible that the title "King of Kings" borne by the Giorgi on these coins could apply to a mere Prince-Consort, Kapanadze's view is to be preferred.

The first type of the coinage of T'amar to be represented in the ANS collection consists of the irregular coppers issued in the Queen's name alone. The legends, fragmentary on each example, have been reconstructed from all four specimens and from the literature.

#### 10. Irregular Copper, cast planchet. A.D. 1187 and 1210.

Obv. In centre, the monogram: 

representing the letters თამარ, T'amar, in the Georgian mkhedruli or knightly hand. The monogram is surrounded by a wreath of rosettes.

Margin: In Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules:

+სჲგნტჲ ოტჲ იჲგჲ სჲგჲ  
 ჲგჲ სსს ჲჲს ჲჲგჲს ჲს

abbreviated for "Sakhelit'a ghvt'isait'a ik'na tcheday vetskhlisi amis K'oronikonsa 407": In the name of God, was made the striking of this silver piece in the K'oronikon 407, i.e. A.D. 1187.

In another variety, the last two letters read ჲს, i. e. 430 of the K'oronikon, or A.D. 1210.

Border of dots.

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 97-99; D. Kapanadze, "Giorgisa da T'amaris sakhelit' motchrili p'ulis shesakheb," in *Sak'art'velos sakhelmdsip'o muzeumis moambe*, XIIB, 1944, pp. 191-96; Kapanadze, "O mednoy monete s imenami Georgiya i Tamary," in *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii Material'noy Kul'tury*, fasc. XXIV, 1949.

Rev.	الملكة المعظمة	The great Queen
	جلال الدنيا والدين	Glory of the World and Faith
	تامار بنت جيورگي	Tamar daughter of Giorgi
	ظهر المسيح	Champion of the Messiah
	اغز الله انصار	May God increase [her] victories. <sup>1</sup>

Margin: ضاعف الله جلالها ومدّ ظلالها وايد اقبالها

May God increase her glory and lengthen her shadow and strengthen her beneficence!

Border of dots.

- Æ a) 16 mm. 5.00 gr.  
 b) 11 × 18 mm. 2.48 gr. Counterstamp.  
 c) 20 × 30 mm. 11.48 gr. Counterstamp.  
 d) 16 × 40 mm. 10.31 gr. Counterstamp.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, Pls. II–III; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 60, Pl. IV, Nos. 5–9; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 99–100, Pls. VII, Nos. 118–27 and VIII, Nos. 128, 131.

PLATE II, 2 (Obv. only), 3–5.

The irregularity and defective workmanship of these coins, one of the commonest of the Georgian series, may reflect hasty improvisation entailed in providing large quantities of currency of low denomination for the extensive territories temporarily annexed during T'amar's reign. The rude fabric is similar to that of some of the Shīrvānshāhs' and Kings of Qarabāgh's coppers of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It may be that some of these irregular coppers were struck under Georgian supervision in the mints of these

<sup>1</sup> None of the specimens examined or illustrated in the literature has the feminine possessive termination *hā-alif*. Pakhomov's Nos. 121 and 125 exhibit what seems to be the masculine termination *hā*, which makes the last line read: "May God increase his victories." This may either be a grammatical oversight, or refer back to the preceding line, where the Queen is given the masculine title of Champion. This confusion is hardly surprising, especially when it is remembered that T'amar bore the Georgian title of Mep'e, which means King.

localities, which were under more or less direct Georgian suzerainty at this period.<sup>1</sup> This would explain the counterstamps found on the vast majority of coins of this type, which in this case could have been applied by the central authority to validate them for general circulation.

The only dates that occur on coins of this issue are 407 and 430 of the Paschal cycle (A.D. 1187 and 1210). There is however no doubt that they were struck intermittently for a number of years. Very often the date falls outside the flan. Of the four specimens in the ANS collection, only one, example (d), can be dated, the letter L, value 30, followed by a cross, being preserved in the obverse margin, giving the year 430, or A.D. 1210.

Three of our four specimens are counterstamped.<sup>2</sup> Examples (b) and (c) have the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscule letter D, with a dot in the centre, in an oblong incuse, thus: —



This counterstamp is peculiar to T'amar's irregular coppers.<sup>3</sup>

Example (c) has a second counterstamp (Pakhomov's figure 7), which can be identified as part of the cipher of Queen Rusudan, and was doubtless applied during her reign (1223-45): —



Example (d) has a different counterstamp, also representing part of Queen Rusudan's cypher, this time within an ornamental border:<sup>4</sup>



<sup>1</sup> The first irregular coppers were struck under Dimitri I (1125-55), who employed some mint-masters from Shirvān (A. Bykov, "Gruzinskie monety XII-XIII vv.," in *Pamyatniki epokhi Rustaveli*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 80.)

<sup>2</sup> See Pakhomov's comprehensive study of XII-XIII century Georgian counterstamps in *Monety Gruzii*, chapter V.

<sup>3</sup> Pakhomov, p. 124, figure 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pakhomov, p. 124, figure 6. In addition to the ANS examples, four specimens of this type, from a hoard, have been shown to us by a New York collector. They have semi-regular round planchets, 14-16 mm. in diameter, and weigh between 1.70 and 4.20 grammes, two having the "D with dot" and two the Rusudan cypher counterstamp. They may represent an attempt to standardize the issue, and have been intended to pass as quarter dirhems.

After her divorce from the reprobate Giorgi Bogolyubskoy, T'amar married in 1193 David Soslan, an Ossetian prince with Bagratid blood in his veins. She bore him the future King Giorgi Lasha and the future Queen Rusudan. David Soslan was a constant source of aid and support in T'amar's military and political enterprises until his death in 1208. An important set of coppers, this time of regular planchet, were struck in their joint names.

#### 11. Regular copper. A.D. 1200.

Obv. In centre, a symbol resembling a military standard or a crossbow, upright. To left and right,  $\overline{\text{D}}\text{D}$  —  $\overline{\text{D}}\text{D}$  for T'amar – Davit'. In the corners, the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules  $\text{ⴁ ⴃ ⴃ ⴃ}$  K'.K.Vi.K, i.e., 420 of the Paschal cycle, or 1200 A.D.

Border of linked dots.

Rev.	ملكة الملكات	Queen of Queens
	جلال الدنيا والدين	Glory of the World and Faith
	تامار ابنة جيورگي	Tamar daughter of Giorgi
	ظهير المسيح	Champion of the Messiah.

Border of linked dots.

Æ	a) 26 mm.	5.41 gr.	Counterstamp.
	b) 27 mm.	7.80 gr.	2 Counterstamps.
	c) 28 mm.	9.21 gr.	Counterstamp.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, Pl. III; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 65–66, Pl. V, Nos. 1–3; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 103–4, Pl. VIII, Nos. 132–35. There is also a variety without the Georgian date formula.

PLATE II, 6–8.

Examples (a) and (b) have a counterstamp made up of the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscule D, together with a symbol resembling an Arabic *sīn* (Pakhomov's figure 3), thus:  $\overline{\text{D}}\text{D}$

The counterstamp on example (c) takes the following form (Pakhomov's figure 4):  $\overline{\text{D}}\text{D}$

Example (b) has this counterstamp on the obverse, in addition to having the previous one on the reverse.

It is worth noting that these counterstamps are never found on T'amar's irregular coppers; nor do those on the irregular series occur on the regular type.

*Giorgi Lasha (1213-23)*

The coins of this monarch are not represented in the ANS collection. They are all copper and, as under T'amar, belong to both regular and irregular type.

Giorgi Lasha's irregular coppers bear the date 1210 (430 of the K'oronikon), showing that his mother transferred a large part of the royal authority to Giorgi about this time. The obverse resembles that of T'amar's irregular issue, except that the centre bears the inscription "GI DZE T'MRSI", abbreviated for "Giorgi, son of T'amar," in ecclesiastical majuscules. The reverse inscription consists of Giorgi's name and titles in Arabic. There is an example of this type in the Chase National Bank Museum of Moneys of the World in New York, with a very clear impression of Queen Rusudan's counterstamp.<sup>1</sup>

The regular coppers of Giorgi Lasha have on their obverse an inscription which has not so far been satisfactorily deciphered. The concluding portion of it, which reads "JAVKhT'OIA", is usually expanded as "JAVAKhT' UP'LISA," or Lord of the men of Javakhet'i, a region of South-Western Georgia.<sup>2</sup> But there is no historical evidence that Giorgi Lasha had any special connection with this relatively minor section of his kingdom. It would seem more logical to seek the explanation of this enigma in the shape of some religious formula, bearing in mind that the letter J in Old Georgian inscriptions regularly stands for "Jvari," the Christian cross.

<sup>1</sup> Kindly shown to me by the Curator, Mr. Vernon L. Brown. Unfortunately, this specimen proved as a whole to be too much rubbed for reproduction. See full description in Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 106-9.

<sup>2</sup> Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 109-10.

*Queen Rusudan (1223-45)*

The reign of T'amar's daughter Rusudan was marked by a series of catastrophes, ending in the complete subjugation of eastern Georgia by the Mongols.

Expelled from his Central Asian dominions by the advancing Mongols, the Shah of Khwārazm Jalāl al-Dīn Menkūberti occupied most of Persia and in 1225 inflicted a signal defeat on the Georgian army at Garni. In the following year he took Tiflis and captured the royal treasury. The city remained in Khwārazmian hands until 1230. Jalāl al-Dīn was overthrown by the Mongols, and in 1231 assassinated by a Kurd.<sup>1</sup>

Jalāl al-Dīn celebrated his conquest of Georgia by overstriking the large quantities of Georgian irregular coppers which fell into his hands.

**12. Irregular coppers, overstruck. A.H. 623/1226 A.D.**

Obv.	السلطان	The Sultān
	المعظم	Supreme.

Margin: ضرب هذا الدرهم بتاريخ ثلث وعشرين وستماية

This dirhem was struck in the year 623.  
Linear border.

Rev.	جلال الدنيا	Jalāl al-Dunyā
	والدين	wa'l-Dīn.

Margin: ضاعف الله جلاله ومدّ ظلاله وايد اقباله

May God increase his glory and lengthen his shadow and strengthen his beneficence!  
Linear border.

<sup>1</sup> V. Minorsky, article "Tiflis" in *E.I.*; Nasavi, trans. by Necip Asım, *Celālütthin Harezemşah*, Istanbul, 1934 (p. 76 on the capture of Rusudan's treasure).

- Æ a) 25 × 30 mm. 21.15 gr.  
b) 28 × 40 mm. 15.79 gr. (Fish-shaped planchet)  
c) 24 × 32 mm. 16.21 gr. Counterstamp.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, Pl. VII; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 112-16, Pl. IX, Nos. 151-54.

PLATE II, 9 and III, 1-2.

On the reverse of example (a), part of the coin's original obverse legend, namely the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules of "Vetskhli," is plainly visible beneath the overstrike. This portion of the legend is common to irregular coppers of both T'amar and Giorgi Lasha.

The fish-shaped planchet of example (b) suggests that this is an overstrike on a copper of Giorgi Lasha rather than of T'amar. Giorgi's irregular coppers assume other fantastic shapes, such as those of birds, crescents, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Example (c) is counterstamped with the plain cipher of Queen Rusudan (Pakhomov's figure 7), applied on top of Jalāl al-Dīn's restrike in such a way as to obliterate the end of the word "Sultān." Pakhomov affirms that when this counterstamp is found in conjunction with Jalāl al-Dīn's restrike on Georgian irregular coppers, the counterstamp is always seen beneath (i.e., applied previously to) the Khwārazmian Shah's restrike.<sup>2</sup> This conflicts with the evidence of our specimen, as well as that of several illustrated in the literature.<sup>3</sup> An example in a private collection in New York has the counterstamp "D with a dot" applied before Jalāl al-Dīn's restrike, and the Rusudan cipher counterstamp applied on top of Jalāl al-Dīn. Pakhomov must surely be mistaken in thinking that the Rusudan cipher counterstamp was used only up to 1226. The evidence shows conclusively that it was also used afterwards, to revalidate the coins so roughly treated by the invader.

\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, diagram facing p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127. Bykov, in *Pamyatniki epokhi Rustaveli*, p. 89, repeats this statement.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Valentine, *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, London, 1911, p. 117, No. 37. This example is copied, via Langlois, from Barataev, section III, Pl. VII, No. 1. Cf. also Barataev's Nos. 6, 8 and 10. An example in the Cabinet des Médailles, and several in the British Museum collection, have Rusudan counterstamps clearly applied on top of (i.e., subsequently to) Jalāl's restrike.



While Jalāl al-Dīn and his followers were in control of Tiflis and most of eastern Georgia, Queen Rusudan and her court were at K'ut'ais in western Georgia, the capital city of Imeret'i. In all probability, it was there that Rusudan's copper coins of 1227 were first struck. However, the abundance in which they are found and the numerous minor variations in design suggest that they continued to be struck after the Queen's return to Tiflis in 1230, though they all bear the date 1227.

13. Regular coppers. [K'ut'ais and Tiflis] A.D. 1227.

Obv. In centre, the letters  $\overline{\text{J L R}}$ , RSN, for Rusudan, surmounted by a sign of abbreviation, the whole surrounded by an ornamental device similar to that employed on the counterstamps of Rusudan's reign:



Into the fringe of this motif are woven the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules  $\text{ⴁ ⴂ ⴃ ⴄ ⴅ ⴆ}$ , K'.K.N.Vi.M.Z., for K'oronikons 447, or 1227 A.D.

Linear border.

Rev. الملكة الملوك والملكات	Queen of Kings and Queens,
جلال الدنيا والدولة والدين	Glory of the World, Kingdom and Faith,
روسدان بنت تامار ظهير المسيح	Rusudan, daughter of Tamar, Champion of the Messiah,
اعز الله انصاره	May God increase [her] victories. <sup>1</sup>

Border of dots.

Æ 23–28 mm. 3.66, 3.97, 5.05, 5.28, 5.46, 7.15 and 9.49 gr.

Barataev, section III, Pl. VI; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 72, Pl. VI, Nos. 2–3; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 116–18, Pls. IX, Nos. 156–57 and X, Nos. 158–59. Pakhomov's estimate of the average weight as 2.65 gr. is too low.

PLATE III, 3–5.

<sup>1</sup> The same vagueness of gender occurs here as on the reverse of T'amar's irregular coppers, No. 9, *q.v.* In the formulation of this title, Rusudan has taken a leaf out of the book of her foe, Jalāl al-Dīn.

The reoccupation of Tiflis by Rusudan in 1230 is marked by the resumption of silver minting after the lapse of over a century. Byzantine in affinity of design, this series belongs in format and weight to the Near Eastern dirhem standard.

14. Dirhem [Tiflis] A.D. 1230.

Obv. Bust of Christ, bearded, facing, head and shoulders length, mantle and nimbus. Right hand in blessing, left holding Book of Gospels with three pellets on cover. In field:  $\overline{\text{IC}}$   $\overline{\text{XC}}$

Margin: ၆ နမူနာ [ ] [ ] တွင် ၆ နမူနာ  
+ ၇၄ (sic) ၇၆

abbreviated for: Sakhelit'a Ghvt'isit'a<sup>1</sup> itchda K'. EB (*sic*) Vi.N. (450), i.e., In the name of God, was struck in the K'oronikon EB (*sic*) 450, or A.D. 1230.

Border of dots.

Rev. Ph B = RSN, for Rusudan.

Round this, double linear border containing ornamental pattern of stars and crescents.

Outer margin: Traces of

الملكة الملكات جلالة (sic) الدين رسودان بنت تامار ظهير المسيح

Queen of Queens, glory of the World and Faith, Rusudan, daughter of  
Tamar, champion of the Messiah.

$\mathcal{R}$  23 mm. 2.70 gr.

PLATE III, 6.

Barataev, section III, Pl. VI; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 73, Pl. VI, Nos. 4-6; Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 118-22, Pl. X, Nos. 160-74.

The design of the bust of Christ on the obverse is taken from the nomisma of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–81).<sup>2</sup> This explains why these silver dirhems of Rusudan are referred to in Georgian medieval charters as “Botinati” or “Botinauri.”<sup>3</sup>

They should not however be confused with the gold “Botinati” circulating in Georgia at this period, which are the authentic By-

<sup>1</sup> Most examples have the more correct form Ghvt'isait'a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the B.M.*, II, London, 1908, p. 535, Pl. LXIII, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, p. 73.

zantine gold pieces of Nicephorus III and are not infrequently discovered within the historical boundaries of Georgia.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of indigenous gold currency, the Byzantine nomisma enjoyed great favor in Georgia, particularly between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Besides this gold Botinati, such terms as Kostantinati and Perpera occur in deeds of gift to monasteries, while the will and testament of King David the Builder contains mention of the *dukati* or ducat, the gold piece of the Emperor Constantine X, Dukas (1059–67). The regular circulation of Byzantine gold in Georgia led the thirteenth century geographer Zakariyā al-Qazvīnī to conclude that it was actually minted at Tiflis. “One finds there”, he says in his *Āthār al-bilād*, “the dinar which is called *perpera*. It is a good coin, hollow and of concave shape, bearing Syriac legends and images of idols. . . . It is the money of the land of the Abkhazians and the work of their kings.”<sup>2</sup> (It is not hard to recognize behind this quaint description the standard Byzantine scyphate nomisma). It would be wrong to follow Kakabadze in supposing that the Georgians minted their own scyphate gold pieces,<sup>3</sup> for which there is no numismatic evidence. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 interrupted the direct flow of Byzantine gold into Georgia, with the result that it gradually disappeared from general circulation there.

In addition to these data on the circulation of Byzantine gold within Georgia itself, it is worth noting that the Georgian monks of the Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos were keeping account of gifts from pious benefactors in terms of drakhani or bezants called “Dukati” (after Constantine X), “Romanati” or “Hromanati” (after Romanus IV, Diogenes, 1067–71), “Dukamikhaylati” (after Michael VII, Dukas, 1071–78) and “Votoniati,” sometimes corrupted into “Potonati” (after Nicephorus III), as well as hyperpera “Alek’siati” (after Alexius Comnenus, 1081–1118).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza*, fasc. II, Baku, 1938, No. 407; T. Lomouri, in *Shot’a Rust’avelis epok’is materialuri kultura*, Tiflis, 1938, pp. 300–1.      <sup>2</sup> Cited by Langlois, *Essai*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> S. Kakabadze, “Sap’asis istoriisat’vis Sak’art’veloshi,” in *Saistorio moambe*, II, fasc. 1, Tiflis, 1925, pp. 1–35.

<sup>4</sup> M. Janashvili, *At’onis Iveris monastris 1074 ds. khelnadseri, aghapebit’*, Tiflis, 1901, pp. 216–77; R. P. Blake, “Some Byzantine accounting practices illustrated from Georgian sources,” in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI, 1940, pp. 11–33.

To revert now to the description of Rusudan's silver coin of 1230, it is curious to note that the Queen's name is regularly transliterated on the Arabic legend of this series as Rusūdān, whereas the coppers have Rūsudān.<sup>1</sup> On the specimen in the ANS collection, this part of the legend is effaced. A most curious feature of this example, however, is the insertion into the obverse Georgian legend of what can only be read as the majuscules E.B., between the K' (for K'oronikons) and the letters Vi.N., for year 450 of the Paschal cycle. None of the specimens illustrated in the literature has this peculiarity. It can hardly represent the plural suffix *-eb(s)*, since "K'oronikon" is invariably used in the singular in such a context. Nor can one seriously entertain the theory that E.B. stands for "Eras Bagrationt'a" (or "Epok'is Bagrationt'a"), for "Era or Epoch of the Bagratids," as such a formula has never been recorded on the hundreds of medieval coins and documents known to us. The solution of this point must await further investigation.

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov (*Monety Gruzii*, p. 117) was the first to notice this.

## V. GEORGIA UNDER THE MONGOLS

The latter half of Rusudan's reign was a period of unrelieved disaster. In 1236, the armies of the Mongols, sweeping all before them, advanced from Ganja towards Tiflis. The country had scarcely recovered from the depredations of Jalāl al-Dīn, and its citadels were in no state to resist the invaders. The Queen and her court had to flee once more into Western Georgia, and the land was given over to the conquerors.

After a few years, Rusudan offered her submission to the Mongol noyans. Her son David (surnamed by the Mongols Nārīn, i.e., the slender, well-proportioned) was sent to the Great Khan's headquarters at Karakorum to pay homage and be invested with the vassal kingship of Georgia. Meanwhile, the Mongols defeated Rusudan's son-in-law, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium, in 1243. This resulted in the liberation of Rusudan's hated nephew, also called David, an illegitimate son of the Queen's late brother, King Giorgi Lasha. The Sultan had been acting as custodian and jailor of this David, whose large, burly stature later caused him to be nicknamed Ūlūgh, the big. A popular movement of hostility towards Rusudan and her heir was cleverly exploited by the Mongol overlords of Georgia, who had Ulugh David crowned at Mtskheta and sent him after his cousin to pay homage at Karakorum. The two Davids were present at the inauguration of Güyük Khan in 1246, after which they returned to Tiflis to rule jointly under Mongol supervision.

Queen Rusudan had already died in 1245, according to some accounts, by suicide, to others, as a result of her notorious debaucheries. The co-kings resided jointly at Tiflis on terms of amiable co-operation, until Hulagu Khan, who arrived in Persia in 1256, took a dislike to David Nārīn. The latter fled to K'ut'ais and established a separate monarchy in Western Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols, Part III: The Mongols of Persia*, London, 1888, pp. 23-61; Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, pp. 112-16; Minorsky, "Tiflis," in *E.I.*

These events are fully reflected in the monetary history of the period.

*First Mongol Occupation Series (Regency of Queen Turakina)*

The ANS has a number of silver dirhems minted at Tiflis, as well as at Ganja and Tabriz, in A.H. 642–43, by authority of the Commander-in-Chief of the Mongol armies. Queen Turakina, widow of the Great Khan Ogotay (Ögödei), was regent of the Mongol dominions.

15. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 642/1244–5 A.D.

Obv. Galloping horseman, to left, turned in the saddle and drawing bow to the right; behind, stork; beneath horse, hound. In some cases, the stork is changed into a star or Solomon's seal, and the hound replaced by obscure shapes suggesting either a serpent or foliage. Other examples, of uncertain mint, show the horseman galloping to right instead of to left.

Above: الغ منقل الوش بيك

The Great Mongol Viceroy (Commander-in-Chief)

Border of dots.

Rev. لا اله الا

There is no god but

الله محمد

Allāh: Muḥammad

رسول الله

Is the Messenger of Allāh.

Margin in four segments has Arabic mint-date formula: Tiflis, 642.

Border of dots.

AR 21–22 mm. 2.67–2.85 gr.

PLATE III, 7–8 and IV, 1.

S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*, London, 1881, No. 1.

The obverse legend, reading “The Great Mongol Alūsh (Ulūsh) Bek,” has given rise to some speculation. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to interpret this as a proper name or honorific title. A simpler and more convincing explanation is that Ulūsh Bek, which

also occurs in the form Ulūs Bek, is connected with the Uigur word Ulus, Ūlūs or Ulūs, meaning nation, great clan or horde. Radlov gives Ulus and Ulush as alternatives.<sup>1</sup> According to Budagov, Ulūs Bek or Amīr al-Ulūs were titles indicating a rank equivalent to that of a Viceroy of the Caliph in Islam. In this, he follows Ibn Baṭūṭa, who says that "Amīr al-Ulūs" corresponds to "Amīr al-Umarā'."<sup>2</sup> The sense of the legend thus amounts simply to "[Money issued by] the Great Mongol Viceroy (Supreme Commander)."

The absence of any reference to the Great Khan of Karakorum need cause no surprise, since nominal power resided with Ogotay's widow Turakina pending the election of a new Great Khan. The Commander-in-Chief in Persia and Transcaucasia was Baiju (Bichui), a nominee of Turakina. There is no need to see, as does Lane-Poole, the minting of these coins as a pretension to sovereignty on some pretender's part.<sup>3</sup>

It is worth noting that the galloping bowman design of this Turakina series closely resembles that of the copper coins minted at Erzerum by the local Turkish dynast Muḥammad ibn Salduq (c. 1174–1200), a vassal of the Seljuks of Rum.<sup>4</sup> It is natural that this motif should have appealed to the Mongols, who are in fact known to contemporary Armenian chroniclers as "the nation of the Archers."

### *Co-regnancy of the Two Davids*

While the two cousins were absent at Karakorum, copper coins were already being minted in Georgia in the name of David Narin, son of Rusudan. The first of these were struck in 642/1244–5 at

<sup>1</sup> V. V. Radlov, *Opyt slovarya Tyurkskikh narechiy*, I, St. Petersburg, 1893, pp. 1696–97. In Sino-Mongolian official terminology, "Yeke Mongghol ulus" was regularly used to signify "The Great Mongol Empire" (Francis W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XII, Nos. 1–2, 1949, pp. 94–95.)

<sup>2</sup> Lazar Budagov, *Sravnitel'ny slovar' Turetsko-Tatarских narechiy*, I, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 88–89. Ibn Baṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, 395.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, p. liii.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrated by Tiesenhansen, *Mélanges de numismatique orientale*, II (*Extrait de la Rev. Num. Belge*, 1875), p. 55, also by Lane-Poole, *B.M. Or. Cat.*, IX, No. 310a.

Dmanisi, then an important trading centre, situated in K'art'li about a hundred kilometres to the south-west of Tiflis. The minting of this series was then transferred to Tiflis (A.H. 645, 647, 650/1247-53 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

The ANS collection does not include any of David Narin's coppers, but it has an interesting variety of his silver dirhem of 1247.

**16. Dirhem Tiflis Year of the Paschal Cycle 467/1247 A.D.**

Obv. The king on horseback, left; beneath, foliage and obscure shapes, possibly representing hound. Above, left, royal monogram formed of the two Georgian majuscules **ႣႥ**, D.T', for Davit'. Above, right Georgian majuscules **ႣႥႧႨ**, for K'oronikons 467, or 1247 A.D. Border of dots.

Rev.	بقوة خدا	By the power of God
	دولة كوك...	Dominion of Kūyuk (or Gūyuk)
	قان بنده	Qā'ān — Slave,
	داود [ملك]	Dā'ūd [King.]

Vertically upwards, at right:

ضرب تيفليس Minting of Tiflis.

Border of dots.

AR 23 mm. 2.58 gr.

PLATE IV, 2.

Cf. the standard type illustrated by Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1-2 and Langlois, *Essai*, Pl. VII, No. 1.

The design of the obverse belongs to a familiar Anatolian pattern, which also features on a number of issues of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. A parallel may be drawn between this Georgian type and

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 82-83, erroneously ascribes this series of coppers to David Ulugh, forgetting that David Narin also ruled for several years with his cousin at Tiflis. The mint-name Dmanisi was first read by Professor Giorgi Tseret'eli of Tiflis University (G. Tseret'eli, "Dmanisis monetis gamo," in *Literaturuli dziebani*, II, Tiflis, 1944, 167-72.) It had previously been taken for a misspelling of Tiflis. For further details, see T'. Lomouri, "XIII saukunis K'art'uli p'ulis sakit'kht'a gamo," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XB, 1940, pp. 123-24.



that of the coins of Kaikhusrau I, Sultan of Iconium (1192-1200), with which the Georgians were undoubtedly familiar. A clear distinction is to be made between the sedate pose and regal gait of equestrian figures of this group, and the energetic galloping movement of the archer on the Turakina series.

This is the only specimen so far published portraying the king riding to left, instead of to right.<sup>1</sup> The royal monogram and the Georgian date formula have changed places to fit the new arrangement of the design. Some examples of the Turakina galloping archer type show a comparable reversal of the obverse design.

With regard to the reverse, the Persian inscription, except for the word "bandeh", was completely deciphered by Prince Barataev. Langlois tried to improve on Barataev's reading, but produced a rendering which conflicts with the specimens illustrated in the literature, as well as this ANS variant specimen.<sup>2</sup> Langlois's emended version seems to have been accepted unquestioningly by present-day Georgian numismatists.<sup>3</sup> It now seems clear that Barataev's reading, with the word "bandeh" added to the third line, must be adopted in preference to that of Langlois.

While both Davids issued their own coins during their co-regnancy at Tiflis, those of David Ulugh are not represented in the ANS collection. A copper coin, with the date mostly effaced, and minted in the name of David, "son of Giorgi," was attributed by Langlois to King David the Builder (1089-1125), son of Giorgi II. What remains of the date of a specimen published by Langlois was read by him as A.H. 5\*\* (A.D. 1106 onwards), which could well fall in David the Builder's reign. On the other hand, the date can equally well be read from Langlois's engraving as A.H. \*5\*, which could only be 65\*, i.e., 1252 onwards.<sup>4</sup> The more recently accepted view is that this type belongs to Ulugh David, son of Giorgi Lasha.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was a specimen in the Gagarin collection (A. Weyl, *Verzeichniss der reichhaltigen Sammlung des Fürsten G...*, Berlin, 1885, No. 2097).

<sup>2</sup> Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, pp. 139-41; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., T'. Lomouri, "XIII saukunis K'art'uli p'ulis sakit'kht'a gamo," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XB, 1940, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> V. Langlois, "Supplement à l'essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie," in *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1861, pp. 336-37, Pl. XIX, No. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, pp. 80-81; T'. Lomouri, in Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XB, 1940, pp. 125-28.

There exists in addition a well authenticated silver series of Ulugh David, minted at Tiflis in A.H. 650, 651, 652 and 654 (1252–56 A.D.). The king is styled David, son of Giorgi, Bagrationi, vassal of the Mongol Great Khan Mangu.<sup>1</sup>

To complete this numismatic account of the two Davids, there also exists a silver coin of Byzantine type issued by the two cousins jointly. On the obverse, the kings are shown standing together, while the reverse depicts the Holy Virgin. This coin was probably struck at K'ut'ais in 1261–62, after Ulugh David had rebelled against the Mongol overlords, and taken refuge with David Narin in Western Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

Ulugh David eventually made his peace with the Mongols, returned into K'art'li and died there in 1269 or 1270. David Narin on the other hand lived on in K'ut'ais, dying at an advanced age in 1293 after a reign of half a century first in Eastern, and then in Western Georgia.

### *Second Mongol Occupation Series (Great Khan Mangu)*

The coins of the two Davids described in the preceding section are all rare and cannot have been struck in any considerable quantity. Much more common are the dirhems struck at Tiflis between A.H. 650 and 659 (1252–61 A.D.) in the name of the Great Khan Mangu (Möngke) alone, without any mention of his Georgian vassals. Mangu ruled from 1251 to 1259.

#### 17. Dirhems Tiflis Various dates.

Obv. Area, within square of dots:

لا اله الا الله

There is no god but

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Fraehn, "De Il-Chanorum seu Chulaguidarum numis," in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, 6me. série: Sciences Politiques, Histoire et Philologie, II, 1834, p. 492, Nos. 8, 10; p. 494, No. 14; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 83–84, Pls. VII, No. 2 and X, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Barataev (*Num. fakty*, section II, Pl. I, No. 1) and Langlois (*Essai*, pp. 92–93, Pl. VII, Nos. 9–10) published this coin, but failed to arrive at a satisfactory attribution. See the article by T'. Abramishvili, "Ori Davit'is moneta," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XVIB, 1950, pp. 139–43. Illustrations of this coin type accompany D. G. Kapanadze's article, "Tak nazyvaemye Gruzinskie podrazhaniya Trapezundskim aspram," in *Vizantiysky Vremennik*, III, 1950, Pl. I, Nos. 3 and 8.

الله وحده

Allāh alone.

لا شريك له

He has no associate.

Margin, in four segments between square and outer circle of dots, contains date formula.

Rev. Area, within square of dots:

مونغكا قا

Mungka (Möngke) Qā'-

ان لاعظم

ān, the Supreme,

لعادل

The Just.

(*alifs* omitted, *sic*).

Margin, in segments between square and circle of dots, contains mint formula.

AR 21-25 mm. 2.20-2.77 gr.

PLATE IV, 3-7.

Fraehn, *De Il-Chanorum numis*, Nos. 3-6; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 3-5. Since this and virtually all later Mongol series have borders of dots, this feature will not be specifically mentioned in the subsequent descriptions.

Many examples of this series have a damghah in the center of either obverse or reverse, or both, thus: 卐

Most specimens are decorated with small six-pointed stars, Solomon's Seals, rosettes, leaves and other ornamental motifs worked into the area, either in conjunction with or instead of the damghah.

The Tifis dirhems of Mangu in the ANS collection bear the following dates:

A.H. 652. 10th. of Sha'bān

PLATE IV, 3.

653. 15th. (?) of Ṣafar

PLATE IV, 4.

Rabī' II

Jumādā I

Jumādā II

Rajab

Sha'bān

Ramaḍān

Shawwāl

654. Şafar  
Jumādā I  
Sha‘bān PLATE IV, 5.
655. Dhū'l-Ḥijjah
656. Sha‘bān  
Ramaḍān  
Shawwāl
657. Rabī' II (plus one specimen of 657 with month effaced).  
PLATE IV, 6.
658. Sha‘bān  
Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (plus one of 658 with month effaced).
659. Month effaced. PLATE IV, 7.
- 65\*. Muḥarram (?)  
Sha‘bān (marginal legend in part retrograde)  
Dhū'l-Qa‘dah.

*Hulagu Il-Khan (1260–65) and King David Ulugh*

At the time of Mangu's death in 1259, his brother Hulagu was commanding the Mongol armies in the Near East. Hulagu now became the autonomous ruler of Persia, Mesopotamia and neighbouring territories conquered by the Mongols, founding the Il-Khanid dynasty which ruled there during the succeeding century. His capital was at Marāgha in Azerbaijan. He died on February 8th., 1265 (A.H. 663). The coins struck by Hulagu and his line at Tiflis and other mints in Georgia form an important and numerous series.

In spite of the practically independent status of Hulagu and his line, they continued for the time being to acknowledge the supreme overlordship of the Great Khaqan Khubilay at Daidu. The formula "Qā'ān al-Ādil" on the coins of Hulagu and Abagha refers not to the Il-Khans themselves, but to Khubilay.

The dirhems struck by Hulagu at Tiflis make a break with the pattern of the Mangu series. Hulagu is not named on them. They have the date formula in the margin, accompanied in some but not all cases by the mint formula of Tiflis. E. A. Pakhomov conveniently

terms this series "Kaanniki Type I."<sup>1</sup> Specimens are known with the dates A.H. 660, 661 and 662 (A.D. 1261-64).

18. "Kaanniki Type I." (Mint-date formula in margin)

Obv. Within ornamented border:

لا اله الا	There is no god
لا اله وحده لا	But Allāh alone.
شريك له	He has no associate.

Marginal legend with mint-date formula, viz:-

a) A.H. 660	Rabi' II. Mint effaced.	PLATE IV, 8.
b) 661	6th. of Sha'bān. No mint.	PLATE IV, 9.
c) 6**	..... Tiflis.	PLATE IV, 10.
d) ?	Ramaḍān. Tiflis.	PLATE IV, 11.

Rev. Area, within ornamented hexagon:

قان	The Qā'ān
العادل	The just.

℞ 20-23 mm. 2.54-2.71 gr.

PLATE IV, 8-II.

Fraehn, *De Il-Chanorum numis*, No. 33; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 47; A. K. Markov, *Inventarny katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 569-70, Nos. 17-20.

*Abagha Khan (1265-82) and David Ulugh (to 1270) and Dimitri the Devoted (1271-89)*

Abagha's first series of Tiflis dirhems differ from those of his father Hulagu by having the date formula in the area of the obverse instead of the margin. The dating is meticulous, the months being regularly specified. The mint is omitted. This series is referred to by Pakhomov as "Kaanniki Type II."

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza*, fasc. II, Baku, 1938, p. 34, note.

18A. "Kaanniki Type II." (Date in center)

Obv. Within ornamented border, pious formula as in previous example.  
Between first and second lines of pious formula, date.

Rev. Area, within ornamented hexagon:

The Qā'ān  
The just.

AR 19-23 mm. 2.41-2.96 gr.

PLATE V, 1-6.

Fraehn, Nos. 34, 36-40, 42-51, 53-58; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 43-46; Markov, *Inventarny katalog*, Nos. 37-60.

The examples of this type in the ANS collection bear the following dates:

A.H. 663. Dhū'l-Qa'dah

665. Shawwāl  
Dhū'l-Ḥijjah

PLATE V, 1.

666. Jumādā I  
Rajab

667. Muḥarram

668. Ṣafar  
Rajab  
Dhū'l-Ḥijjah

PLATE V, 2.

669. Rajab  
Sha'bān

670. Ṣafar  
Ramaḍān  
Shawwāl  
Dhū'l-Qa'dah

PLATE V, 3.

671. Muḥarram  
Dhū'l-Qa'dah

672. Ṣafar  
Shawwāl

673. Shawwāl

674. Rabī' II PLATE V, 4.  
 Rajab  
 Ramaḍān
675. Muḥarram
676. Rajab  
 Rabī' I
680. Rabī' I PLATE V, 5.  
 Sha'bān (2 specimens, one doubtful).


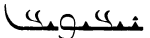

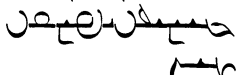
Also two specimens with undeciphered legends in the place usually occupied by the date formula. PLATE V, 6.

The foregoing two series of anonymous "Kaanniki" were the only type of coinage minted for Georgia by the Mongols for almost two decades. The Georgian national series struck in the names of the two Davids as vassals of the Mongols had long since been discontinued. Towards 1280, however, Abagha's conciliatory attitude towards the Georgian Christian population is reflected in the coinage. As is well known, Abagha sought alliance with Western Christendom against the Muslim powers. The Georgian chroniclers speak in favourable terms of his treatment of the Christians in the Il-Khanid dominions.

Several series of "Hulaguid-Christian" dirhems were struck at Tiflis from A.D. 1279 onwards. Of those minted under Abagha, the ANS collection has five specimens. It is important to note that the first type described by Langlois, following Fraehn, as pertaining to Abagha and Dimitri the Devoted, turns out on examination of the illustration to belong to Ghāzān Maḥmūd and Wakhtang III (c. 1302).<sup>1</sup>

**19. Dirhems [Tiflis] c. A.H. 680/1281 A.D.**

Obv. Five-line inscription in Mongol written in the Mongol-Uigur character:

Qaghanu		Of the Khaqan (Khaghan)
nereber		In the name
Abagha-yin		By Abagha
deletkegülük-sen		Struck. (lit.: "Striking of Abagha").

<sup>1</sup> Fraehn, *De Il-Chanorum numis*, No. 60, Pl. IV, No. 6; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 85, No. 37.

Above inscription, ornamental device of interlaced ovals, etc.

Rev. Area, within square:

بسم الاب	In the name of the Father
والابن وروح	And the Son and the Spirit
القدس اله	Holy — God
واحد †	One. †

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains date formula. The specimens in the ANS collections bear the dates A.H. 680 (?); Rabi' II, 68\*; 68\*; Muḥarram, 6\*\*; Rabi' II, 6\*\*.

R 21–23 mm. 1.97–2.40 gr.

PLATE V, 7–8.

Fraehn, Nos. 62 and 63; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 87, No. 38. E. Drouin expressed the view that Abagha was arrogating to himself the title of Khaqan in the inscriptions of these coins ("Notice sur les monnaies mongoles," in *Journal Asiatique*, May–June, 1896, p. 507). Professor Francis W. Cleaves of Harvard University kindly informs me, however, that this is not so, and that documentary evidence confirms that the early Il-Khans sedulously maintained their nominal allegiance to the Supreme Khaqan of Daidu. On the title of Il-Khan, see further Mostaert and Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrètes Vaticanes," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XV, 1952, p. 454. On some of these coins, as Professor Cleaves further points out to me, the ruler's name appears in the form "Abugha".

#### *Aḥmad Tegüder Khan (1282–84) and Dimitri the Devoted*

Abagha was succeeded as Il-Khan by his brother Tegüder ("The Perfect"), who assumed the title of Sultān Aḥmad Khan on his official conversion to Islam. Aḥmad's short reign was mainly occupied with wars against his nephew Arghun, who was the son of Abagha and had been designated by that ruler to succeed to the Il-Khanid dominions. King Dimitri of Georgia at first took the side of Aḥmad, who was however defeated by Arghun and put to death in August, 1284.<sup>1</sup>



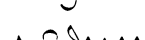
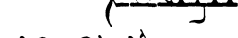

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, p. 119; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 300–7.



The ANS collection includes one Hulaguid-Christian dirhem struck at Tiflis under Aḥmad, while Dimitri II was vassal king of Eastern Georgia.

20. Dirhem [Tiflis] A.H. 682 (?)/1283-4 A.D.

Obv. Five-line inscription in Mongol written in the Mongol-Uigur character:

Qaghanu		Of the Khaqan
nereber		In the name
Amadun		By Aḥmad
deletkegülük-		Struck.
sen		

Above inscription, ornamental device of interlaced ovals, etc.

Rev. Area, within square, containing Christian pious formula in Arabic as under Abagha, but in place of the Cross, a six-pointed star.

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains date formula: A.H. 682 (?).

Æ 23 mm. 2.31 gr.

PLATE V, 9.

Fraehn, Nos. 70-71; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 87, No. 39; Drouin, "Notice sur les monnaies mongoles," pp. 517-19.

The substitution of a star for the Christian cross on the reverse of Aḥmad's Hulaguid-Christian dirhems may have some connection with his conversion to Islam and consequent lack of sympathy towards the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup>

*Arghun Khan (1284-91) and Dimitri the Devoted*

Dimitri had abandoned the cause of Aḥmad in time to make his peace with the victorious Arghun. He was a close friend of Arghun's powerful minister Bukay, Dimitri's daughter being married to Bukay's son. In 1289, however, Bukay was disgraced and executed. Arghun threatened to ravage Georgia as a reprisal for Dimitri's alleged complicity in Bukay's intrigues. To save his people, Dimitri voluntarily surrendered to Arghun, who tortured and executed him.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 297.

His devotion earned him the title of "T'avdadebuli," the Self-Sacrificed or Devoted.


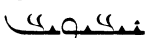

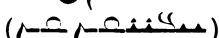


Dimitri was succeeded on the East Georgian throne by Wakh-tang II (1289-92), son of King David Narin of Imeret'i. Of Wakh-tang II no coins are known.

Arghun died, probably poisoned, on March 10, 1291.

The ANS collection contains twenty Hulaguid-Christian dirhems struck for Georgia under Arghun. They resemble previous issues, and bear the Christian cross on the reverse.

**21. Dirhems [Tiflis] A.H. 683-86/1284-8 A.D.**

Obv. Four-line inscription in Mongol:

Qaghanu		Of the Khaqan
nereber		In the name
Arghunu (in some examples		By Arghun
Arghunun)		
deletkegülk		Struck.
Fifth line:		Arghūn

Rev. Area, within square, containing Christian pious formula, concluding with Cross and ornamental motif.

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains date formula, crudely inscribed.

R 20-22 mm. 2.19-2.46 gr.

PLATE V, 10-12 and VI, 1-2.

Fraehn, Nos. 77-78; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 87-88, No. 40.

On most specimens of the above series, the date formula is so roughly engraved that the following table of dates compiled from the examples in the ANS collection must be considered as provisional:

A.H. 683.

PLATE V, 10.

684.

685.

PLATE V, 11.

686. Rabī' I  
Rabī' II

PLATE V, 12.

(and others of 686 with month effaced).

Langlois further lists the year 687/1288–9 A.D. It is noteworthy that the series comes to an end in the following year, when the Christian king Dimitri was executed by Arghun.

Variations occur in the spelling of Arghun's name in the Mongol inscription. The correct form is "Arghunu," genitive of Arghun. Many examples have the grammatically incorrect "Arghunun." The final element "-sen" of the participle "deletkegülüksen" has been suppressed to make room for the addition of "Arghūn" in Arabic in the fifth line. The remaining portion often reads "deletkegülk-" instead of "deletkegülük-."

*Gaikhātu Khan, Arinchin Turji (1291–95) and David VIII*

Wakhtang II of Georgia died in 1292 and was succeeded by David VIII (or, following another system of computation, David VI), son of Dimitri the Devoted.

In the previous year, Arghun had been succeeded as Il-Khan by his brother Gaikhātu, whose title Arinchin Turji or Precious Jewel derives from the Tibetan "rin-chen rdo-rje" and was bestowed on him by the Lamas. Gaikhātu was murdered in 1295 by partisans of his cousin Baidu, who succumbed a few months later to Ghāzān.

The ANS collection has four Hulaguid-Christian dirhems struck at Tiflis under Gaikhātu. This series was formerly attributed to Arghun, because the die-engraver has neglected to change the name of the ruler in the Mongol inscription.<sup>1</sup> Gaikhātu's honorific title written in Arabic characters, "Arīnchīn Tūrjī," replaces the name of Arghun beneath. This leaves no doubt as to the attribution of this series, since the historians of the time inform us that the title was bestowed personally upon Gaikhātu on his accession.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Drouin, "Notice sur les monnaies mongoles," pp. 522–25.

<sup>2</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 357; Barthold, article "Gaikhātū" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

## 22. Dirhems [Tiflis] [c. 1291-95 A.D.]

Obv. Four-line inscription in Mongol as in preceding series, retaining the name of Arghun.

Fifth line:

ارینچین تورجی

Arīnchīn Tūrjī.

Rev. Area, within square, containing Christian pious formula, concluding with Cross and/or star or other ornamental motif.

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains date formula, crudely inscribed (effaced or illegible in all four specimens).

AR 20-21 mm. 2.19-2.33 gr.

PLATE VI, 3-4.

This type is described by Fraehn, Nos. 80 and 89, but included under Arghun.

*Ghāzān Maḥmūd Khan (1295-1304), David VIII and Wakhtang III*

Under Ghāzān, Mongol oppression and a revival of Muslim fanaticism drove David VIII in 1297 to rebel against his overlord and take refuge in the fastnesses of the Caucasus. From 1299 to 1301, the Mongols maintained David's brother Giorgi, later to rule as Giorgi the Brilliant, as their puppet ruler at Tiflis. They later replaced him by another brother, who ruled as Wakhtang III (1301-1308).<sup>1</sup>

In general, however, Ghāzān was an energetic and enlightened ruler, under whom the Il-Khanid dominions reached a high point of prosperity. He reformed and standardized the coinage.<sup>2</sup> The Tiflis mint struck silver of both Hulaguid-Christian and standard Muslim types. An important event in Georgian economic history was the establishment of a mint at Akhaltsikhe, the capital of the province of Samtskhe-Saatabago in south-west Georgia.

Ghāzān died near Qazvin on May 17, 1304. His coins are frequently mentioned in Georgian charters under the name of Qazanuri, a term which may also have been loosely applied to other Il-Khanid silver coins circulating in Georgia.

<sup>1</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 421-26; Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 524-26; Rashīd al-Dīn, "Povestvovanie o Gazan-Khane," in *Sbornik Letopisey*, trans. A. K. Arends, vol. III, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946.

## 23. Dirhems [Tiflis] A.H. 696/1296-7 A.D.

Obv.	پادشاه اعظم	The most mighty king
	سلطان محمود	Sultān Maḥmūd
	غازان خان	Ghāzān Khān,
	خدا الله ملکه	May God prosper his reign.

Rev. Area, within square of dots:

بسم الاب	In the name of the Father
والابن وروح	And the Son and the Spirit
القدس اله	Holy — God
ⲁⲫ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲃ	One. MP'D (for Mep'e Davit', King David) †

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains date formula. In one case this can be read conjecturally as A.H. 696.

R 20-21 mm. 1.84-2.33 gr.

PLATE VI, 5-6.


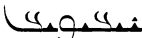
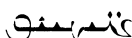


Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section III, pp. 172-73; Bartholomaei, *Lettres Numismatiques*, p. 112, Pl. II, No. 7; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 89, No. 41.

The royal monogram in the reverse area of David VIII's coins represents an evolution from the cross and ornament found on earlier series. The fact that the cross now occurs in the centre of the initial letter "D" of the king's name serves to stress his role as defender of the Christian faith.

No coins are known pertaining to the brief first reign of Giorgi V (1299-1301).

With Wakhtang III (c. 1301-1308) we come to the end of the Hulaguid-Christian issues. His reign is represented in the ANS collection by four dirhems, easily distinguishable from earlier types by the lay-out of the reverse.

## 24. Dirhems [Tiflis] [c. 1301-4 A.D.]

Obv. Qaghanu		Of the Khaqan
nereber		In the name
Ghazanu		By Ghazan
deletkegülik-		Struck.
sen		







Rev. Area, within linear square:

In centre, a Maltese Cross within linear circle (in one example, a small star appears between each arm of the Cross).

Inscription running round Cross:

بسم الاب والابن وروح

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit.

At the end of the inscription a monogram, thus:  made up of the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules   , VNG, together with the letters   = MP<sup>c</sup>, the whole representing Vakhtang Mep'e, King Wakhtang.

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains degradation of date formula.

R 21-22 mm. 2.26-2.36 gr.

PLATE VI, 7-8.

Fraehn, No. 86; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 90, No. 42.

Under Ghāzān, coins with Muslim legends were again minted at Tiflis, after an interval since the reign of Abagha. Note the new formula adopted for the Mongol inscriptions, indicating that Ghāzān no longer set store by acknowledging the suzerainty of the Supreme Khaqan of Daidu. The phrase “*ṭngri-yin küchündür*,” in Sir Gerard Clauson’s view, was taken over by Ghazan from the paizas issued by the Supreme Mongol Khaqan, on which the phrase regularly occurs in the preamble, sometimes in the ḥP<sup>c</sup>ags-pa and sometimes in the Uigur script.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Uigur-Mongol paiza illustrated in Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd. ed., London, 1903, vol. I, p. 355.

25. Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 701/1301-2 A.D.

Obv. Area, within ornamented pentagon:

الله	
لا اله الا	There is no god but Allāh
ضرب تڤليس	Struck at Tiflis <sup>1</sup>
محمد	Muḥammad
رسول الله	is the Messenger of Allāh.

Vertically, at sides:

صلى الله عليه	God bless him.
	(The word الله at the top of the area is read twice).

In segments, between pentagon and linear border, date formula, decipherable in one case as \*\*1, i.e., A.H. 701.

Rev. Five-line inscription in Mongol:

Tngri-yin	تنگری یین	Of Heaven
küchündür	күчүндүр	By the Power
Ghazanu	гхазану	By Ghazan
deletkegülük-sen	делеткегүлүк сен	Struck

Between third and fourth lines:

غازان محمود	Ghāzān Maḥmūd
-------------	---------------

<sup>1</sup> This mint formula, which literally signifies "Striking of Tiflis," will henceforth be rendered more conveniently, if less grammatically, as "Struck at Tiflis."

To left, vertically:

𐰢  
𐰣  
𐰤

R 20-21 mm. 2.01-2.14 gr.

PLATE VI, 9-10.

Fraehn, No. 103; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 110.

Various attempts have been made to read the three mysterious characters on the coins of Ghāzān Maḥmūd. They are obviously the special mark or sign which Rashīd al-Dīn records that Ghāzān had included in the design of his coins to prevent counterfeiting.<sup>1</sup> Terrien de la Couperie tried to read them as Ghāzān's name in the ḥP'ags-pa (Passepa) script,<sup>2</sup> but this was contested by Drouin, who thought however that "these unknown signs conceal some religious epithet after the style of Arinchin Turji."<sup>3</sup> This is not very convincing, since if Ghāzān had had some such honorific title bestowed on him by the Lamas of Tibet, he would have had no valid object in wrapping it up in a cryptogram that nobody could read.

Sir Gerard Clauson has examined these coins, and has come to the conclusion that the signs are intended for the word *Qa'an* in ḥP'ags-pa, but were designed by someone with a highly imperfect knowledge of the ḥP'ags-pa script. The following observations are quoted by Sir Gerard Clauson's kind permission from notes on the subject addressed to the present writer:

"As regards Ghazan's *nīshān*, I have no doubt that it is in P'ags-pa, written by someone who had got the alphabet, but had never seen it written continuously. The main characteristics of the alphabet are that it is written vertically, and that the letters of each word are joined together by running the right vertical downwards.

"Equally I have no doubt that word is meant to be *Qa'an*. You will see at the top of the right column on the front of the *paiza* [reproduced in Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, 1903 ed., I, plate facing

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn, trans. Arends, vol. III, 1946, p. 271: "[Ghāzān] first established according to his judgement the pattern of the coinage, set on it a mark (*nīshān*) such that nobody would succeed in imitating it, and ordered that throughout his dominions, gold and silver should be struck according to this pattern..." See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 525.

<sup>2</sup> Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, p. lii.

<sup>3</sup> E. Drouin, "Notice sur les monnaies mongoles," p. 532.



page 352] how the professional wrote it. The alternative—"Ga-za-n"—is so much less like the coins that it seems to me much less probable. I think that the resemblance of the first letter on one coin to the P'ags-pa syllabary *ma* is purely fortuitous.

"If I am right in thinking that the appearance of these signs and the adoption of the new formula *ingri-yin küchündür*<sup>1</sup> coincide, then I think the case is a cast iron one. Ghazan seems to have come to the throne in A.D. 1295; the P'ags-pa alphabet was invented in China in A.D. 1269, so was still new and wonderful. It may well have reached Ghazan on a *paiza* of the type illustrated in Yule's *The Book of Marco Polo* [1903 ed., I, plate facing page 352], which bears both the formula (the P'ags-pa rendering is "dénriyin k'uč'undur") and the word *qaghan* (there spelt *gha'an*) in P'ags-pa. As the formula was, so to speak, the Mongol *bismillah*, it no doubt appeared on all state papers, and Ghazan may have got it and the *nīshān* that way, but a *paiza* is likeliest, as it was a sort of metallic diplomatic passport and no doubt the ambassadors from Peking all carried them."

The preceding items of Ghāzān's coinage from the Tiflis mint are no novelties, but it has recently been discovered that another mint existed under Ghāzān in Georgian territory, namely at Akhaltsikhe in the province of Samtskhe. Credit for this important addition to Transcaucasian numismatic history belongs to specialists at the University and State Museum of Georgia at Tiflis. As a result of details published in the Museum's bulletin, it has been possible to attribute a coin in the ANS collection to this Akhaltsikhe mint.

26. Dirhem Akhaltsikhe Date effaced

Obv. As preceding example from the Tiflis mint, but the third line reads:

ضرب اخلسخ

Struck at Akhsikh.

(or possibly: اخلسيخ)

Rev. As preceding example.

R 22 mm. 1.96 gr.

PLATE VI, II.

T'. Lomouri, "Akhaltsikhis zarap'khana," in *Sak'art'velos sakhelmdsip'o muzeumis moambe*, XIIB, 1944, p. 214.

<sup>1</sup> On this formula see Mostaert and Cleaves in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XV, 1952, pp. 428 and 486; also Cleaves, in the same journal, XVI 1953, p. 40.

The first mention of Ghāzān's Akhaltsikhe mint is found in Bartholomaei's third letter to Soret, the author of which, however, found himself unable to identify the locality in question, which he read tentatively as "Ikhshin."<sup>1</sup> More recently, an Akhaltsikhe dirhem came to light at Erivan in 1939. Pakhomov read the mint as اخلس, but there can be no reasonable doubt that this represents the name of Akhaltsikhe.<sup>2</sup> Nearly a score more specimens were then discovered in Soviet Georgia, on one of which, instead of اخلس, the mint reads اخالسخ. This enabled T'amar Lomouri of the Tiflis Museum coin room, in consultation with Professor G. Tseret'eli, to establish beyond doubt that the mint in question is indeed Akhaltsikhe.

The existence of this mint under the Il-Khans is significant as reflecting political developments of the period. The Georgian chronicle records that in 1268 the Atabag of Samtskhe, Sargis Jaqeli, profited by the weakness of King David Ulugh of Georgia to set himself up under Mongol protection as independent dynast at Akhaltsikhe. He was succeeded by his son Bek'a Jaqeli (1285-1306), whose rule thus coincided with the reign of Ghāzān Maḥmūd, in whose name these coins were struck. In the time of Sargis II Jaqeli (1306-34), King Giorgi the Brilliant re-united the province of Samtskhe to the Georgian crown, the dignity of Atabag remaining in the Jaqeli family. After the Ottoman invasion of 1578, the Jaqelis became hereditary Pashas under the suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan.<sup>3</sup> Many works of geographical description and travel contain material on Samtskhe and the city of Akhaltsikhe.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Troisième lettre de M. le Général de Bartholomaei à M. F. Soret, sur des monnaies koufiques inédites, trouvées en Géorgie," in *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1862, p. 68, Pl. III, No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev, i oblastey Kavkaza*, fasc. IV, Baku, 1949, No. 1158.

<sup>3</sup> M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, St. Petersburg, 1849, pp. 543-86; Prince Wakhushht, "Histoire du Samtzhkhé-Saatabago," in *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 1, 1856, pp. 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> Prince Wakhushht, *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, trans. and ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1842, pp. 85-87; Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, II; Platon Ioseliani, *Goroda, sushchestvovavshie i sushchestvuyushchie v Gruzii*, Tiflis, 1850, pp. 28-30; *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza*, IV; V. Ivanov, "Gorod Akhaltsikhe," in *Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniya mestnostey i plemen Kavkaza*, VII.

The Akhaltsikhe mint continued to function under the Il-Khan Uljaitu (Öljäitü), who reigned from 1304 to 1316, and was a contemporary of Sargis II Jaqeli. Bartholomaei lists a dirhem of Uljaitu of uncertain date minted at Ikhshin, i.e., Akhaltsikhe.<sup>1</sup> In the catalogue of the von Karabaczek collection, there also occurs a dirhem of Uljaitu struck at Ikhshin/Akhaltsikhe, this time dated A.H. 716/1316–7 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

So far this is all that is known about this interesting mint, though it may be conjectured that it was one of the centres for the fabrication of imitations of the Trebizond aspers, which became standard currency in western Georgia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after the decay of the Il-Khanid empire. D. Kapanadze has recently discovered a rather dubious coin on which he reads the initials of the Atabag Qwarqware, who ruled at Akhaltsikhe from 1451 to 1498.<sup>3</sup>

*Uljaitu (Öljäitü) Khan (1304–16) and Giorgi VI,  
The Little (c. 1310–15)*

Sultān Uljaitu (“The Fortunate”), known also as Muḥammad Khudābandeh, succeeded his brother Ghāzān and continued his statesmanlike policies. At first a Sunnī, he later adopted the Shī’a persuasion. He transferred the capital of the empire from Tabriz to Sultāniya.

Giorgi VI of Georgia, known as Mtsire, “The Little,” was an infant son of King David VIII. He reigned nominally in Tiflis under the tutelage of his uncle, the former King Giorgi V, later to reign once more as Giorgi the Brilliant.

The coins struck in Georgia by Uljaitu are purely Muslim in legend and style, bearing no Christian symbol to distinguish them from products of other Il-Khanid mints.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1862, pp. 68–69.

<sup>2</sup> Schulman, Amsterdam, November 18th., 1907, p. 67, No. 1133.

<sup>3</sup> D. Kapanadze, “Zogiert’i gaurkveveli k’art’uli p’ulis dat’arighebisat’vis,” in *Sak’art’velos sakhelmdsip’o muzeumis moambe*, XIB, 1941, p. 150.

27. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 705/1305-6 A.D.

Obv. Area, within ornamented cinquefoil:

الله	
لا اله الا	There is no god but Allāh
ضرب تفليس	Struck at Tiflis
محمد	Muḥammad
رسول الله	is the Messenger of Allāh.

Vertically, at sides:

صلى الله عليه	God bless him.
	(The word الله at the top of the area is read twice).

Margin, in segments between cinquefoil and circumscribed circle, contains names of Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within double linear square:

السلطان الاعظم	The most mighty Sulṭān
غياث الدنيا والدين	Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn
خدا بنده محمد	Khudābandeh Muḥammad,
خلد الله ملكه	May God perpetuate his reign.

Margin, in segments between square and circumscribed circle, contains date formula: A.H. 705.

℞ 22 mm. 2.15 gr.

PLATE VI, 12.

28. Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 712/1312-3 A.D.

Obv. Area, within circle:

لا اله الا الله	There is no god but Allāh
-----------------	---------------------------

محمد	Muḥammad
رسول الله	is the Messenger of Allāh,
على ولي الله	‘Alī is the Viceroy of Allāh.

Around:


بسم الله الكريم	In the name of Allāh the All-Bountiful.
-----------------	---

Marginal legend contains benediction on the Twelve Imams.

Rev. Area, within quatrefoil:

ضرب في	Struck in
ايام دولة المولى	the days of the rule of the Lord
السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب	Sulṭān most mighty, having sway over the necks
الامم اولجايتو سلطان غياث	of nations, Ūljāitū Sulṭān Ghiyāth
الدنيا والدين خدابنده محمد	al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Khudābandeh Muḥammad,
خلد الله	May God perpetuate
ملكه	his reign.

The margin, in segments between quatrefoil and outer circle, is disposed differently in the two specimens in the ANS collection:

- a) Top right: In Mongol:  Ūljeýtü Sultan.  
 Top left: Qur’ān, XXX, 3.  
 Bottom right: Mint formula: Tiflis.  
 Bottom left: Date formula (effaced).
- b) Top right: Qur’ān, XXX, 3.  
 Top left: Date formula: A.H. 712.  
 Bottom right: Mongol title.  
 Bottom left: Mint formula: Tiflis.

AR 19-21 mm. 2.06-2.11 gr.

PLATE VII, 1-2.

Similar to Fraehn, No. 113 and Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 133.

## 29. Double Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 715/1315-6 A.D.

Obv. Area, within double sixfoil: Shī'a pious formula.

Marginal legend contains benediction on the Twelve Imams.

Rev. Area, within double sevenfoil, contains enumeration of Uljaitu's titles, similar to preceding example.

Margin, in segments between sevenfoil and outer circle, contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 715.

℞ 23 mm. 3.98 gr. (ringed).

PLATE VII, 3.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 147.

In addition to the above series, the ANS collection contains a barbarous imitation of a double dirhem of this reign.

## 30. Double Dirhem (barbarous work) Tiflis A.H. 708 (?) or 710 (?).

Obv. Area, within ornamented hexagon, contains Sunnī pious formula.

In segments between hexagon and linear circle, crudely written legend of which only two sections remain, possibly representing the words:

النبي بنده

... the prophet, slave...

Rev. Area, within ornamented hexagon, barbarously inscribed:

ضرب في ايام

Struck in the days

دولة السلطان الاعظم

of the rule of the Sulṭān most mighty

اولجايتو خدا بنده

Ūljāitū Khudābandeh

محمد خلد الله ملكه

Muḥammad, May God perpetuate his reign.

Margin, in segments between hexagon and outer circle:

تفليس / — / ثمان (or عشر) و / سبعة

700 /and (or 10?) 8 / — / Tiflis.

℞ 24 mm. 3.18 gr.

PLATE VII, 4.

*Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan (1316–35) and Giorgi V, The Brilliant*  
(c. 1315–46)

Abū Saʿīd, son of Uljaitu, was the last ruler of the undivided Il-Khanid empire. His reign, the swan-song of the Mongols of Persia, was one of courtly splendour and literary culture, combined with growing political unrest. He reverted to the Sunnī persuasion.

In Georgia, the infant Giorgi the Little having died or otherwise disappeared from the scene, the throne was occupied for the second time by Giorgi V, son of Dimitri the Devoted. Giorgi V is called by the annalists “Brdsqinvale,” The Brilliant. At first, he enjoyed high favour at the Persian court and was confirmed in possession of all the Georgian lands. The chronicles give grandiloquent but vague accounts of his military prowess. He is stated to have expelled the Mongols from Georgia and set up his headquarters at Tiflis, as well as re-uniting all western and south-western Georgia to the Crown.<sup>1</sup>

The numismatic evidence suggests however that Giorgi’s successes were of a more modest nature. An uninterrupted series of standard Il-Khanid silver coins were struck at Tiflis until the 1350’s. It seems most likely that the Annals’ accounts of Giorgi’s battles with the Mongols represent a somewhat garbled version of the events attending the revolt and defeat of Giorgi’s protector, the powerful general Chūpān, who was executed in 1327. Chūpān’s son Maḥmūd, the Il-Khanid governor of Georgia, was now assassinated by his own troops.<sup>2</sup> Having been associated with the losing side, Giorgi’s position in Tiflis would have been perilous. The account of his exploits in western Georgia perhaps reflects the fact that like his predecessors Queen Rusudan and David Narin, Giorgi found it advisable to operate for a time outside the Mongol sphere of influence. Or again it may be that the Muslims continued, as in the days of the Tiflis Emirs, to hold the city as an enclave within the kingdom of K’art’li.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 587; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 640–48; Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, pp. 121–22.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Chronique des Rois Mongols en Iran, texte persan édité et traduit par K. Bayani*, II, Paris, 1936, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques*, pp. 108–9: “Il devient évident que pendant toute la première moitié du XIV<sup>me</sup> siècle, le joug mongol avait pesé de tout son poids sur la Transcaucasie entière, et que le royaume de Géorgie était devenu de fait une province de l’empire des Houlaguides; que les rois

No coins struck in the name of Giorgi the Brilliant are known to us, with the somewhat dubious exception of a few specimens of crude fabric from a 14th century hoard published by D. Kapanadze. These are apparently imitations of later Il-Khanid patterns, though Kapanadze's reproductions are not good enough to give a clear impression. A feature of their design is a motif resembling a human eye. On one of them Kapanadze made out the legend "Mep'et'a Mep'e Giorgi" in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, and concluded that this is the famous "Giorgauli" coin referred to in a number of medieval legal documents.<sup>1</sup> Experience of the many curious items which occur in hoards of this period suggests, however, the need for caution. It is proposed to return to this subject in the section on Georgian imitations of the aspers of Trebizond, which were the standard currency of western Georgia during this period.

The ANS collection contains sixteen silver coins of Abū Sa'īd minted at Tiflis after standard patterns.

**31. Double Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 717/1317-8 A.D.**

Obv. Area, within ornamented octagon, contains Sunnī pious formula, interspersed with ornaments.

Margin, in spaces between octagon and outer circle, contains Qur'ān, LXVII, 1.

Rev. Area, within ornamented hexagon:

ضرب في	Struck in
دولة المولى السلطان	The empire of the Lord Sulṭān
الاعظم ابو سعيد	Most mighty, Abū Sa'īd,
خلد الله ملكه	May God perpetuate his reign.

de Géorgie, en commençant par Giorgi-le-Brillant lui-même, n'étaient que des vassaux des kaāns...." This point is discussed further in Bartholomaei à Soret, III, *Rév. Num. Belge*, 1862, pp. 95-97.

<sup>1</sup> D. Kapanadze, "Zogiert'i gaurkveveli k'art'uli p'ulis dat'arighebisat'vis," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XIB, 1941, pp. 133-44.



Beneath, arabesque.

Margin contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 717.

AR 26 mm. 3.74 gr. (holed)

PLATE VII, 5.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 175.

32. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 719/1319-20 A.D.

Obv. Area, within ornamental frame portraying a *mihrāb*, contains Sunnī pious formula. Beneath, names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs. The *mihrāb* frame itself and the legend between the frame and surrounding linear border form Qur'ān, II, 131.<sup>1</sup>

Rev. Area, within lobed square:

ضرب	Struck
في أيام دولة السلطان	in the days of the rule of the Sulṭān
الاعظم أبو سعيد	Most mighty, Abū Sa'īd,
خلد الله ملكه	May God perpetuate his reign.

Around, in lobes of square:

نعم النصر من الله	Excellent is the victory from God.
-------------------	------------------------------------

Margin, in spaces between square and outer circle, contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 719.

AR 20 mm. 1.70 gr.

PLATE VII, 6.

Similar to Fraehn, No. 140; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 176-96.

33. Double Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 719/1319-20.

Three specimens in ANS collection.

Design as previous example.

AR 24-26 mm. 3.12-3.38 gr.

PLATE VII, 7-8.

<sup>1</sup> On this design and its symbolism, see George C. Miles, "Epitaphs from an Isfahan graveyard," in *Ars Islamica*, 1939, p. 156.

## 34. Double Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 722 and 723/1322-3 A.D.

Obv. Area, within circle, contains Sunnī pious formula, with the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs inscribed around. Between first and second, and second and third lines of pious formula:

ضرب Struck at

تفليس Tiflis.

Rev. Area, within pentagon:

في اه (sic)

In the days

ضرب

Struck

يام دولة السلطان الاعظم

Of the rule of the Sultān most mighty,

ابو سعيد بهادر خان

Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan,

خلد الله ملكه

May God perpetuate his reign.

Margin, in segments between pentagon and outer circle, contains date formula: A.H. 722 and 723.

AR 22 mm. 2.44-3.37 gr.

PLATE VII, 9.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 197-209.

## 35. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 722.

Similar to preceding example.

AR 19 mm. 1.34 gr. (holed).

## 36. Double Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 724 and 725/1323-5 A.D.

Obv. Area, within double square, contains Sunnī pious formula.

Margin, in segments between square and outer circle, contains names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within double circle:

ضرب

Struck

السلطان ابو سعيد

Sultān Abū Saʿīd

بہادر خان خلد ملکہ

تفلیس

Bahādur Khan, May his reign be  
perpetuated,

Tiflis.

Margin, between circle and outer circle, contains date formula: A.H. 724 and 725.

AR 23 mm. 3.26–3.37 gr.

PLATE VIII, 1.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 210–16.

37. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 724

Similar to preceding example.

AR 17 mm. 1.93 gr.

PLATE VIII, 2.

38. Double Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 729/1328–9 A.D.

Obv. Area, within ornamented octagon, contains Sunnī pious formula, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs. Linear circle border, with loops.

Rev. Area, within ornamented and looped octagon:

السلطان الاعظم

Sultān most mighty

ابو سعید بہادر خان

Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan

خلد الله ملکہ

May God perpetuate his reign.

Margin, between octagon and outer circle, contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 729.

AR 23–24 mm. 3.14–3.18 gr.

PLATE VIII, 3.

39. Double Dirhems Tiflis Year 33 al-Khānīyeh, i.e. 1334–35 A.D.  
Year 3\* (33 or 34) al-Khānīyeh.

Obv. Sunnī pious formula in Cufic characters arranged to form a square, and embodying the phrase:

صلى الله عليه

God bless him.

Round the Cufic inscription, in ordinary Naskhi characters, are inscribed the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev.

السلطان العالم العادل

The Sultān wise and just

ضرب

Struck

بوسایید

Busayid

تفلیس

At Tiflis

بہادر خان خلد ملکہ

Bahādur Khan, May his reign be  
perpetuated.

Round the inscription, date formula: In one specimen 33, in the other 3\*,  
of the Il-Khanid era.

AR 19–20 mm. 2.77–2.85 gr.

PLATE VIII, 4–5.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, Nos. 173, 238–51.

40. Dirhem Tiflis Year 33 al-Khāniyeh, i.e. 1334–35 A.D.

Similar to preceding.

AR 15 mm. 1.38 gr.

PLATE VIII, 6.

An attempt must be made here to clarify the concordance of the Khanid and Christian eras, which has been a source of some difficulty in dating these coins of the last years of Abū Saʿīd, the only ruler to employ the Khanian era on his coins. Fraehn and Lane-Poole equate the 33rd year of this Khanian era, invented by Ghāzān Maḥmūd, with 1332–33 A.D.<sup>1</sup> This computation seems untenable, for the authorities agree, with one exception, that Ghāzān based his era on the solar cycle and introduced it on the 12th of Rajab, A.H. 701, or March 13th, 1302.<sup>2</sup> Now if the first year of the Khanian era ran from March, 1302 to March, 1303, the 33rd year must surely have begun in March,

<sup>1</sup> Fraehn, *De Il-Chanorum numis*, p. 528; Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Hinz, in *ZDMG*, 1951, p. 250; also Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, II, Darmstadt, 1843, pp. 175–76, 357–59; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 532–33; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, Cambridge, 1928, p. 45; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie*, I, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 304–5. Waṣṣāf, the continuator of Rashid al-Dīn, dissents however, giving the 1st of Rajab, A.H. 700 as the commencing date.

1334 and ended in March, 1335 (A.H. 734–35). This is borne out by modern Persian almanacs, which give, for example, Khānī 634 as the equivalent of A.D. 1935.<sup>1</sup>

To turn to the numismatic evidence, we find further support for this system of calculation in some coins of Abū Saʿīd minted at Baghdad, al-Ḥillah and Wāsiṭ, and first published by Codrington, bearing dates in both the Khanian and Muslim eras. In three examples, the date is inscribed as both year 34 al-Khānīyeh and 735 A.H. (September, 1334 to August, 1335).<sup>2</sup>

Zambaur lists some coins of Abū Saʿīd dated 35 and even 36 of the Khanian era.<sup>3</sup> These, if our calculations are correct, would date from the years 1336–38 A.D. and represent posthumous issues. Abū Saʿīd died in November, 1335.

It is worth noting that the era is styled الخانية, “al-Khānīyeh,” and not ايلخانية, “Īlkhānīeh,” as sometimes given.

The ANS collection also contains a double dirhem of unusual type struck at Tiflis under Abū Saʿīd. It is of the square-cufic pattern, but without the Il-Khan’s name in Mongol. Nor is any space allotted for a date-formula. So far as can be discovered, this is a unique specimen.

#### 41. Double Dirhem Tiflis N.D.

Obv. Sunnī pious formula in Cufic characters, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Linear circle border, outer border of dots.

Rev.

ضرب

Struck

السلطان الاعظم

The Sulṭān most mighty,

<sup>1</sup> S. H. Taqizadeh, “Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam,” part 2, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, London, 1939, pp. 118–20. The correspondence 137 Khānī = A. H. 842/1438–39 A.D. is given in a document of the Timurid Shah-Rukh (W. Hinz, in *Der Islam*, 1949, p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> O. Codrington, *Some rare and unedited Arabic and Persian coins*, Hertford, 1889, p. 4. Two examples with this double date-formula, from Baghdad and Wāsiṭ, are also in the ANS collection.

<sup>3</sup> E. von Zambaur, “Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale,” in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1914, p. 184.

ابو سعيد بهادر خان	Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan
خلد الله ملكه	May God perpetuate his reign
تفليس	Tiflis.

Double linear circle, outer border of dots.

R 22 mm. 2.71 gr.

PLATE VIII, 7.

*The Last Il-Khans (1335-1357)*  
*and Giorgi V and David IX (1346-60)*

After the death of Abū Saʿīd, “the throne of Persia became the toadstool on which the puppet sovereigns set up by rival ameers seated themselves, only to find it crumbling beneath them.”<sup>1</sup> The Georgian chronicles pass over this troubled era in virtual silence. It is noteworthy that in spite of the prevailing chaos, the Il-Khanid mint at Tiflis continued to function regularly, as well as a new one at Qarā-Aghāch in Kakhetʿi, on Georgia’s south-eastern border.

Abū Saʿīd’s immediate successor was Arpā Khan, who reigned for only a few months.

42. Double Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 736/1335-6 A.D.

Obv. Sunnī pious formula in Cufic characters, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs, the whole design being virtually identical with the coins of Abū Saʿīd’s last period.

Rev. السلطان الاعظم	The Sulṭān most mighty
ارپا خان خلد الله	Arpā Khan; may God perpetuate
ملكه وايد دولته	his reign and reinforce his dominion.

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, p. xx. The best account of the period is found in the *Taʾrīkh-i Shaiḥh Uwais*, trans. and edit. J. B. van Loon (The Hague, 1954), and prefaced by an excellent historical summary.

68. *Numismatic History of Georgia*

Surrounded by mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 736.

℞ 21 mm. 2.78 gr.

PLATE VIII, 8.

Fraehn, No. 207; Pakhomov, *Monetnye Klady*, fasc. IV, Baku, 1949, p. 50, No. 1157.

The next of these ephemeral rulers represented in the Tiflis series is Muḥammad Khan, who reigned under the aegis of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, the Jalā'ir chieftain. He was little more than a figurehead, and was killed in 1338, when the Chūpānī, Ḥasan Kūchuk, conquered Azerbaijan and Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

43. Double Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 738/1337-8 A.D.

Obv. Within curved border, Sunnī pious formula, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Within curved and looped border:

السلطان العالم

The Sultān wise

محمد خلد الله

Muḥammad; may God perpetuate

ملكه ودولته

his reign and dominion.

Around, mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 738.

℞ 20 mm. 2.35 gr.

PLATE VIII, 9.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 280.

It is useful for Georgian history to note that the other contemporary rival dynasts Mūsā, Tughā-Tīmūr and Jāhān-Tīmūr never apparently had control of the Tiflis mint. Abū Sa'īd's sister, the Princess Sātī Beg, struck silver at Tiflis in A.H. 739,<sup>2</sup> but none of her coins from here are in the ANS collection.

The next of the rival puppet Khans represented in our series is Sulaymān, who married Sātī Beg and ruled under the protection of Ḥasan Kūchuk, the Chūpānī, from 1339 until 1343, when Ḥasan was murdered by his own wife.<sup>3</sup> Melik Ashraf, brother of Ḥasan Chūpānī,

<sup>1</sup> Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, trans. Bayani, II, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section I, p. 5; Markov, *Inventarny Katalog*, p. 591, No. 504.

<sup>3</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 646-50.

had rebelled against the latter, fled to Georgia and, on Ḥasan's assassination, now assumed power, appointing one of his partisans to be governor of Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

44. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 741/1340-41 A.D.

Obv. Within eightfoil, Sunni pious formula, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within eightfoil:

السلطان	The Sultān
سليمان خان	Suleiman Khan
خلد ملكه	May his reign be perpetuated.

Margin, between eightfoil and linear circle border, contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 741.

AR 17 mm. 1.30 gr. (holed)

PLATE VIII, 10.

Similar to Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 330. The ANS collection has another dirhem of Sulaymān, dated A.H. 741, but of doubtful mint, possibly Tiflis (similar to Lane-Poole's No. 320).

The epigraphy, especially on the reverse, shows signs of debasement.

The last of the decayed Il-Khans was Anūshirvān, or Nūshirvān (1344-1357), a figurehead ruler of dubious pedigree set up at Tabriz by the tyrant Ashraf Chūpānī. His reign was brought to an abrupt conclusion by the invasion of Jānī-Beg of the Golden Horde in 1357. His silver coinage shows progressive signs of degeneration.

45. Dirhems Tiflis A.H. 750 and 751/1349-51 A.D.

Obv. Area, within border design portraying a *mihrāb*, contains Sunni pious formula.<sup>2</sup> Around border, names and titles of the Four Orthodox Caliphs, partly effaced.

<sup>1</sup> Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, trans. Bayani, II, 136, 148.

<sup>2</sup> A similar motif has already been noted as occurring on the coinage of Abū Sa'īd about the year 719 A.H. (see Nos. 32 and 33, above).



Rev. Area, within hexagonal border:

ضرب	Struck
السلطان العادل	The Sulṭān the just
نوشروان	Nūshirvān
خلد الله ملكه	May God perpetuate his reign.

Margin, in six compartments, contains mint-date formula: Tiflis, A.H. 750 and 751.

Æ 17-18 mm. 1.46-1.49 gr.

PLATES VIII, II and IX, 1.

46. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 75\*.

Obv. Area, within linear circle, contains Sunnī pious formula, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within hexagonal ornamented border:

ضرب	Struck
السلطان	The Sulṭān
انوشروان	Anūshirvān,
خلد ملكه	May his reign be perpetuated,
تفليس	Tiflis.

Margin, in six compartments, contains the date formula: A.H. 75\*.

Æ 16 mm. 1.20 gr.

PLATE IX, 2.

47. Dirhem Tiflis A.H. 7\*\* (c. 753).

Obv. Area contains Sunnī pious formula in Cufic characters disposed in a square. Around, the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within ornamented hexagon:

ضرب	Struck
نوشروان	Nushirvan

تفليس  
خلد ملکه

Tiflīs

May his reign be perpetuated.

Four small stars arranged in pattern in area.

Margin contains date formula: A.H. 7\*\*.

R 14 mm. 1.01 gr.

PLATE IX, 3.

The ANS has on loan from the University Museum in Philadelphia a dirhem of the same design and virtually the same weight (1.03 gr.), dated Tabriz, A.H. 753/1352–3 A.D. It is safe to conclude therefore that the above specimen from the Tiflis mint dates from about this year.

This concludes the series of Il-Khanid Tiflis coins in the ANS collection.

Besides Tiflis, however, the last Il-Khans operated another mint in Georgia, namely at Qarā-Aghāch, or “Black Wood” in Kakhet’i on the country’s south-eastern marchlands. The town is known in Georgian sources as Qaraghaji.

Our study is complicated by the fact that at different periods, the Mongols of Persia had mints in two separate and distinct localities of this name. Under Uljaitu, in A.H. 711 and 713/1311–14 A.D., Anatolian-typesilver coins occur with the mint-mark قراغاج. This can hardly be the Georgian Qarā-Aghāch: the specimen in the ANS collection was found in a hoard of silver coins of Uljaitu, mostly minted at ‘Alā’yah on the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia.<sup>1</sup> The coin in question from Qarā-Aghāch bears, like the other specimens in the hoard, a Qaramānid counterstamp.<sup>2</sup> This must surely be the Qarā-Aghāch mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa in his travels in Asia Minor, as being in the neighbourhood of Qul Ḥiṣār.<sup>3</sup> It is doubtless the “Qarā-Aghāch of Yalvāch” listed by Mostras.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 150–51.

<sup>2</sup> The other recorded coin of Uljaitu from this Qarā-Aghāch, dated A.H. 711, is listed in Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Mongols*, No. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Baṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, II, 270. Cf. Fraehn, in another context: “... Moneta Kara-aghatschae (quod haud scio an oppidum Karmanae sit)” (*De Il-Chanorum numis*, p. 535).

<sup>4</sup> C. Mostras, *Dictionnaire géographique de l’Empire Ottoman*, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 136; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d’Asie*, III, Paris, 1894, pp. 639–42.

The next numismatic mention of Qarā-Aghāch occurs a quarter of a century later, when the Il-Khanid empire was already breaking up. Several dirhems of Muḥammad Khan, the nominee of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg, minted at Qarā-Aghāch in A.H. 738/1337–8 A.D., have been recorded.<sup>1</sup> In 740 A.H., Sulaymān, the creature of Ḥasan Kūchuk, was minting there.<sup>2</sup> Under Anushirvān, there occur a whole series of various types and dates, including four in the ANS collection, described below.<sup>3</sup>

Several considerations make it impossible for this Qarā-Aghāch to be identical with Uljaitu's mint-town of this name in south-western Asia Minor. From what is known of the troubled history of the period, it would be most surprising for Muḥammad, Sulaymān or Anūshirvān Khan to be in a position to claim even the most shadowy suzerainty over the Qaramānid dominions.

General Bartholomaei was of the opinion that this Qarā-Aghāch should be sought rather in the region of Shīrvān, where a substantial number of the later Il-Khanid mints are situated.<sup>4</sup> Recent discoveries have borne out this view. In 1949, E. A. Pakhomov published details of a hoard found in 1940 at Qaraghaji in the Dsit'eldsqaro, or "Red-Spring" district of Kakhet'i, in the south-eastern corner of the Georgian Soviet Republic, and close to the historic boundaries of Shirvan. This hoard was made up of dirhems of Sulaymān and Anūshirvān minted at Qarā-Aghāch (Qaraghaji) itself, as well as at Tiflis, Tabriz, Sultāniya, Ardabil, Marāgha, Ganja, Shīrvān, etc., in other words, from centers in Transcaucasia and north-west Persia.<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting also that a similar hoard, found near Kars in Turkish Georgia in 1877, contained coins of Anūshirvān minted at Qarā-Aghāch, Tiflis, Ganja, Nakhchevan, etc., that is to say, again from towns in Transcaucasia.<sup>6</sup> This should be enough to demonstrate that the second Qarā-Aghāch mint is indeed the Georgian Qaraghaji.

<sup>1</sup> Fraehn, No. 210; Bartholomaei à Soret, IV, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1864, p. 314, No. 75; Markov, *Inventarny Katalog*, Supplement 4, p. 1036, No. 482a.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomaei à Soret, IV, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1864, p. 318, No. 97\*.

<sup>3</sup> See also Markov, *Inventarny Katalog*, p. 593, No. 547, p. 596, No. 643, Supplement 4, p. 1038, No. 652h.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomaei à Soret, III, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1862, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady*, fasc. IV, Baku, 1949, pp. 50–51, No. 1160.

<sup>6</sup> Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady*, fasc. III, Baku, 1940, p. 51, No. 863.

This place is well known to Georgian historical geography. Prince Wakhusht, writing in the eighteenth century, stated that it had been ravaged by the Golden Horde leader Bārākā (Berke) in 1265–66, which shows that it already existed as a township in the Mongol period.<sup>1</sup> It was in the district of K'isiq, between the Alazan and Iori rivers, which indeed corresponds to the present-day administrative district of Dsit'eldsqaro. In the seventeenth century, it became the administrative capital of Kakhet'i under the Ṣafavīs. The Shahs' vice-roys resided there from 1657 until the end of the century and one of them built a palace in the Persian style. From 1703, King David III (Imām-Qūlī-Khān) of Kakhet'i resided at Qaraghaji, until he removed his capital to T'elavi in 1706. Ottoman occupation troops built a fortress there in 1733.<sup>2</sup> The development of the town and fortress of Signaghi in a less vulnerable area of K'isiq during the latter half of the eighteenth century hastened Qaraghaji's decline to its present-day insignificance.

48. Dirhem Qarā-Aghāch A.H. 746/1345–6 A.D.

Obv. Sunnī pious formula arranged to form a triangle. Within triangle, in the centre, the name of 'Alī is inscribed, surrounded by the names of the other three Orthodox Caliphs. Outside the triangle, the formula:

	بسم الله الكريم	In the name of Allāh the All-Bountiful.
Rev.	السلطان	The Sultān
	نصير بك خان	Nushirvan Khan
	خلد ملكه	May his reign be perpetuated.

Around, mint-date formula: Qarā-Aghāch, A.H. 746.

℞ 18 mm. 1.41 gr.

PLATE IX, 4.

Type of Fraehn, Pl. II, No. 232.

<sup>1</sup> Wakhusht, *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1842, p. 309. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik Letopisey*, trans. Arends, III, 1946, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Wakhusht, "Histoire du Cakhet," in M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 1, St. Petersburg, 1856, pp. 173–93; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, London, 1943, pp. 102, 167; Platon Ioseliani, *Goroda, sushchestvovavshie i sushchestvuyushchie v Gruzii*, Tiflis, 1850, p. 49.

## 49. Dirhem Qarā-Aghāch A.H. 74\*.

Obv. Area contains Sunnī pious formula inscribed diagonally within lozenge. In segments between lozenge and outer circle, names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, inscribed diagonally within ornamented lozenge:

السلطان العادل	The Sultān the just
انوشروان	Anūshirvān
خلد ملکه	May his reign be perpetuated.

Around lozenge, mint-date formula: Qarā-Aghāch, A.H. 74\*.

R 20 mm. 1.47 gr. (holed).

PLATE IX, 5.

Bartholomaei à Soret, IV, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1864, No. 142\*.

## 50. Dirhem Qarā-Aghāch A.H. 750/1349–50 A.D.

Obv. Area, within square, contains Sunnī pious formula. Margin, in segments between square and linear circle, contains names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within oval:

السلطان	The Sultān
نوشیروان	Nushirvan
خلد ملکه	May his reign be perpetuated.

Above and below oval, mint-date formula: Qarā-Aghāch, A.H. 750.

R 16 mm. 1.26 gr.

PLATE IX, 6.

Bartholomaei à Soret, II, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1861, No. \*48.

## 51. Dirhem Qarā-Aghāch A.H. 75\*.

Obv. Sunnī pious formula, surrounded by the names of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.

Rev. Area, within hexagon:

السلطان	The Sultān
---------	------------

ضرب	Struck
انوشروان	Anūshirvān
قرا اغاچ	Qarā-Aghāch
خلد ملکه	May his reign be perpetuated.

In segments between hexagon and outer circle, date formula: A.H. 75\*.

Æ 16 mm. 1.18 gr.

PLATE IX, 7.

#### *Georgia and the Jalā'irids (1357-1410)*

The most powerful of the minor dynasties which carved up the disrupted Il-Khanid empire was that of the Jalā'irs, the descendants of Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg. These princes made Baghdad their capital, but gained control over much of Persia and Transcaucasia.

For a short time after the suppression of Anūshirvān, the mints at Tiflis and at Qarā-Aghāch were under Jalā'irid control. Dirhems struck in the name of Shaykh Ḥasan, and, apparently anonymously, by his successor Uwais were minted in both places in A.H. 757-8/1356-7 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Another discovery of much interest for Georgian history during this turbulent period is that coins of the Golden Horde were also minted at Qarā-Aghāch in A.H. 758/1357 A.D. Azerbaijan had been invaded in 1357 by Jānī-Beg, Khan of the Golden Horde, who seized Tabriz and executed Anūshirvān's patron, the tyrant Ashraf Chūpānī. Jānī died or was murdered in 1357 by his son and successor Birdī-Beg, who soon after retired to the Qipchaq. Tabriz was then captured by the Jalā'ir Uwais.<sup>2</sup> That Georgia also was involved in this complicated struggle for power is shown by this fresh numismatic

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza*, fasc. II, Baku, 1938, Nos. 472-73; Bartholomaei à Soret, II, *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1861, No. \*60; A. K. Markov, *Katalog Dzhelairidskikh monet*, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. LII. For a general survey, see further H. L. Rabino, "Coins of the Jalā'ir, Kara Koyūnlū, Musha'sha', and Āk Koyūnlū dynasties," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Minorsky, article "Tabriz," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

evidence. The existence of these Qarā-Aghāch coins of A.H. 758, struck in the names of both Jānī-Beg and Birdī-Beg, was first made known by E. A. Pakhomov.<sup>1</sup> It is important to know that part at least of eastern Georgia was brought at this period, however briefly, under the authority of the Golden Horde.

These Tatar invasions help to explain why no coins have come to light bearing the name of the Georgian king David IX (1346–60), the successor of Giorgi the Brilliant. Nor have any been discovered that can be attributed with any confidence to Bagrat V (1360–93).

With regard to Giorgi VII (1393–1407), the doughty adversary of Tamerlane, the numismatic picture is confused. Three small silver pieces published by Langlois were attributed by him, partly on the strength of information supplied to him by Bartholomaei, to Giorgi VII assertedly reigning jointly with and under the aegis of Shaykh Aḥmad Jalā'ir (1382–1410).<sup>2</sup> This ascription has since been tacitly accepted by some later writers.<sup>3</sup> Yet examination of Langlois' illustrations is enough to arouse misgivings. For one thing, the inscription which he read as the name and title of King Giorgi VII in Georgian characters is unmistakably the Sunnī pious formula. A. K. Markov, when preparing his standard history of the Jalā'irid coinage, sent to the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where these coins are preserved, for a fresh report on them. It transpired that their inscriptions contain no mention whatever of any King Giorgi, the only ruler mentioned being a certain Aḥmad. Comparison with known issues of Aḥmad Jalā'ir even led Markov to question whether the specimens in question were of Jalā'irid type at all, or belonged to some other Aḥmad.<sup>4</sup> However this latter point

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana*, fasc. II, Baku, 1938, No. 472. In the same hoard were found coins of Jānī and Birdī-Beg, also dated A.H. 758, from Barda'a, Tabriz, Ganja, Nakhchevan, etc.

<sup>2</sup> V. Langlois, "Supplément à l'essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie," in *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1861, Nos. 9–11.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. E. A. Pakhomov, "Kak otrazhalis' istoricheskie sobytiya na monete Gruzii," in *Letopis' Gruzii*, ed. B. Esadze, Tiflis, 1913, p. 57; Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana*, fasc. II, p. 46; D. Kapanadze, "XV saukunis k'art'uli p'ulis Goris gandzi," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XB, 1940, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Markov, *Katalog Dzhelairidskikh monet*, St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. LXIX–LXX. Personal examination of these coins in Paris bears out Markov's view.

may be, it is clear that these coins cannot be admitted into the Georgian monetary series.

*Summary of the Mongol Period*

The following tables have been drawn up to illustrate the numismatic history of Georgia during the Mongol Great Khan, Il-Khan, Jalā'irid and Golden Horde dominations. The list is not confined to the specimens from the ANS collection described in detail in the preceding pages. Use has been made of the card-index of Il-Khanid coinage compiled from various sources by Dr. G. C. Miles, as well as recent Soviet publications, which have for the most part been quoted already in footnotes.

MINT	DATE	TYPES
<i>Akhaltzikhe</i>	A.H. 694-703	Il-Khanid: Ghāzān.
	716	Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
<i>Dmanisi</i>	642	Georgian vassal: David Narin.
<i>Qarā-Aghāch</i>	738	Il-Khanid: Muḥammad.
	740	Il-Khanid: Sulaymān.
	741	Il-Khanid: Sulaymān.
	745	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	746	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	748	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	750	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	752	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	753	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	756	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	757	Jalā'irid: Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg.
	758	Jalā'irid: ? Anon.
		Jujid, Golden Horde: Jānī-Beg.
		Jujid, Golden Horde: Birdī-Beg.
<i>Tiflis</i>	642	Great Khan: Queen-Regent Turakina.
	645 (467)	of the Georgian Paschal Cycle, 1247 A.D.) Georgian vassals: David Narin, David Ulugh.



*Tiflis*

- 647 Georgian vassal: David Narin  
 650 Great Khan: Mangu  
 Georgian vassals: David Narin,  
 David Ulugh.  
 651 Great Khan: Mangu  
 Georgian vassal: David Ulugh.  
 652 Great Khan: Mangu  
 Georgian vassal: David Ulugh.  
 653 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 654 Great Khan: Mangu  
 Georgian vassal: David Ulugh.  
 655 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 656 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 657 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 658 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 659 Great Khan: Mangu.  
 660 Anonymous (Hulagu): "Kaanniki I."  
 661 Anonymous (Hulagu): "Kaanniki I."  
 662 Anonymous (Hulagu): "Kaanniki I."  
 663 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 665 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 666 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 667 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 668 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 669 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 670 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 671 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 672 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 673 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 674 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 675 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 676 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 677 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 678 Hulaguid-Christian: Abagha and  
 Dimitri  
 Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."  
 680 Hulaguid-Christian: Abagha and Dimitri

*Tiflis*

- Anonymous (Abagha): "Kaanniki II."
- 681 Hulaguid-Christian: Abagha and Dimitri.
- 682 Hulaguid-Christian: Aḥmad and Dimitri.
- 683 Hulaguid-Christian: Aḥmad and Dimitri.  
Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 684 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 685 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 686 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 686 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 687 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- 688 Hulaguid-Christian: Arghun and Dimitri.
- N.D. (c. 691-4) Hulaguid-Christian: Gaikhatu and  
David VIII.
- 696 Hulaguid-Christian: Ghāzān and  
David VIII.
- 701 Il-Khanid standard series: Ghāzān.
- N.D. (c. 701-3) Hulaguid-Christian: Ghāzān and  
Wakhtang III.
- 705 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 708 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 710 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 711 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 712 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 714 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 715 Il-Khanid: Uljaitu.
- 717 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 719 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 722 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 723 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 724 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 725 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 726 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 727 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 728 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 729 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
- 730 Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.

<i>Tiflis</i>	732	Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
Year 33		
al-Khāniyeh:	734–5	Il-Khanid: Abū Saʿīd.
	736	Il-Khanid: Arpā.
	738	Il-Khanid: Muḥammad.
	739	Il-Khanid: Princess Sāti-Beg.
	740	Il-Khanid: Sulaymān.
	741	Il-Khanid: Sulaymān.
	745	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	746	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	747	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	750	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	751	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	752	Il-Khanid: Anūshirvān.
	757	Jalāʾirid: ? Anon.
	758	Jalāʾirid: Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg.

## VI. GEORGIA AND THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

While the Il-Khans held Eastern Georgia in subjection, David Narin and his posterity maintained a precarious independence as monarchs of Imeret'i, "the land on the far side" of the Likhi Hills which divide eastern from western Georgia. Their realm soon began to break up, the princes of Mingrelia, Guria and Abkhazia giving reign to their separatist ambitions. About 1330, Giorgi the Brilliant brought western Georgia under his authority. Particularist trends again triumphed after the death of Alexander I (1412-43), the last king of united Georgia. The country remained divided until the Russian annexation early in the nineteenth century.

To the southwest, Georgia bordered at this period on the Empire of Trebizond. The Comneni had set themselves up there with the aid of the Georgian Queen T'amar after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204. Community of faith and interest resulted in the maintenance of close economic and political links between Georgia and Trebizond throughout the two and a half centuries of the Empire's existence. Relations were further cemented by marriages between the Comnenian and Bagratid royal houses.

The first monetary series of Trebizond dates from the reign of John I (1235-38). Under his successor Kyr Manuel I (1238-63), the characteristic type of Trapezuntine silver coinage, the asper, took on definitive form and became well-known and popular in commerce.<sup>1</sup> Authentic aspers are often encountered in hoards dug up in Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

The Georgians were hemmed in by the Mongols to east and south and obliged to coin and employ in their transactions the money of their overlords. As a reaction from this state of affairs, it was natural

<sup>1</sup> W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum*, London, 1911, p. lxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> T'. Lomouri, "P'uli Shot'a Rust'avelis epok'ashi," in *Shot'a Rust'avelis epok'is materialuri kultura*, ed. I Javakhishvili, Tiflis, 1938, p. 302. A number of instances will be found in the four fascicules of Pakhomov's *Monetnye klady*.

that the Christian iconography of the Trapezuntine asper, with its effigy of the Emperor on one side and Saint Eugenius, patron of Trebizond, on the other, should have made a special appeal to the hard-pressed Georgian population.

Georgian imitations of the asper of John II (1280-97) form an abundant and curious group. Although certain crudely struck aspers of the earlier period have been ascribed to Georgian mints,<sup>1</sup> it was not until this reign that the systematic fabrication of these imitations began in Georgia. It is worth noting in this connection that the throne of Trebizond was seized for a few months in 1285 by Theodora, daughter of Kyr Manuel I by his consort, the Georgian princess Rusudan.<sup>2</sup> Theodora was supported by a Georgian army sent by King David Narin. This episode gave the Georgians even more opportunity of becoming familiar with the coinage of Trebizond.

Once imitation of John II's aspers had begun, no attempt was made to introduce new types from Trebizond. The Georgian fabrications all bear the name of that monarch, or vague shapes representing degradations of it, in Greek characters. In spite of this, they are known as "Kirmaneuli" or "Kilmanauri," i.e., coins of Kyr Manuel, the first Emperor of Trebizond whose coins had enjoyed wide circulation in western Georgia. The widely varying stages of degradation of these imitations, and the rubbed and battered condition of many of the surviving specimens, indicate that they were minted and circulated over a long period. This is confirmed by documentary evidence: throughout the 15th and as late as the 17th century, the "Kirmaneuli t'et'ri" (i.e. white, or silver piece) is mentioned in charters, often with the qualifying adjective "dzveli" or old. It was the usual monetary unit employed in royal charters laying down the blood money of members of the nobility and other deserving subjects.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is hard to follow Wroth (*Vandals, etc.*, pp. 255-56) in regarding as Georgian imitations a small group of aspers of Manuel I on which the epithet ὁ Τραπεζούντιος is added to the name of St. Eugenius. It seems more likely that a certain lack of elegance in this series arises from its early, experimental stage of development.

<sup>2</sup> O. Retowski (Retovsky): "Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt," in *Numizmaticheskyy Sbornik*, I, Moscow, 1911, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> S. Kakabadze, "Sasiskhlo sigelebis shesakheb," in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, Tiflis, 1924, pp. 1-107. As late as 1601, King Rostom of Imeret'i edicted a blood-price of "80,000 dzveli kirmanauli" (p. 38).

It seems clear however that quantities of "Kirmaneuli" specified refer not to the number of coins to be paid, but to their total weight in silver: King Bagrat II wrote in a charter in 1472: "For whoever knows not the nature of a Kirmanauli t'et'ri, a Kirmanauli is the weight of a t'angi."<sup>1</sup> The average Georgian Kirmaneuli weighs around two grammes, or 2½ t'angi.

A full description of the innumerable variants encountered in this group will be found in the works of Retovsky and Wroth.<sup>2</sup> It seems sufficient for our purposes to divide them into two categories according to their degree of barbarism, which becomes progressively greater as the series diverges little by little from its Trapezuntine prototype. In extreme examples, the Saint's face assumes a bloated aspect, as if suffering from tooth-ache. Mr. Roland Gray has kindly pointed out the existence in the Whittemore Collection at the Fogg Museum at Harvard of a couple of specimens which surpass in crudity any illustrated in the literature.

The examples in the ANS collection fall into the following categories:

52. "Kirmaneuli t'et'ri:" Imitations of aspers of John II of Trebizond. [Mints in western Georgia: K'ut'ais, Akhaltsikhe (?) etc.]  
*Early phase of degradation* (late 13th.-14th. centuries?).

Obv. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger, distorted in one case to resemble a long cross; wears crown, mantle and tunic and sash passing diagonally across tunic and falling over l. arm, the robes being decorated with pellets in various combinations. In field, upper r., traces of *manus Dei* crowning the Emperor, often distorted or effaced. Below, l. or r., Solomon's Seal.

<sup>1</sup> S. Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, p. 63. A t'angi or dangi is the sixth part of a miskhal, or .8 gr. When the Georgian monetary system became identified with that of Persia, the dangi was considered equivalent to the weight of a shāhi or shauri. The Kirmaneuli was then valued at two shauris. (See Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, pp. 15, 30; Prince Wakhushht, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, ed. Bak'radze, Tiflis, 1885, p. 299.)

<sup>2</sup> Retovsky, *Münzen der Komnenen*, pp. 220-41, Pls. VIII-X; Wroth, *Vandals, etc.*, pp. 272-73, Pl. XXXVII, Nos. 6-10.

Inscription in varying degrees of distortion:

I	ω	N
O		
K	O	O
HN		C

Rev. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe.

Inscription in varying degrees of distortion:

Λ	Γ
	€
€	N I
	O
V	C

℞ 20-23 mm. 1.83-2.11 gr.

PLATE IX, 8-II.

### 53. "Kirmaneuli t'et'ri."

*Later phase of degradation* (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries?).

Obv. John II, standing facing, as in preceding type. Labarum and globus cruciger degenerated into almost meaningless shapes. Features and robes of Emperor more crudely and schematically represented. Below, l. or r., Solomon's Seal. Inscription further garbled.

Rev. St. Eugenius, standing facing, as in preceding type. Features more crudely represented, taking on swollen appearance. Inscription further garbled.

℞ 21-22 mm. 1.72-2.21 gr.

PLATES IX, 12-13 and X, 1.

It is difficult to be anything but sceptical about the attempts which have been made to read Georgian inscriptions on certain examples of this Georgian imitation asper series. In particular, efforts have been made to turn the degraded obverse inscription into the letters MP'GI, for "Mep'e Giorgi," or "King Giorgi," in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules. One such example is attributed by Barataev to King Giorgi III (1156-84), an obvious anachronism, by Bartholomaei and Langlois

to Giorgi VIII (1446–66) and by Retovsky, conjecturally, to Giorgi the Brilliant (1315–46).<sup>1</sup> Comparison of the illustrations given in support of this reading with specimens in the ANS and other collections make it more than doubtful whether these “Georgian characters” are anything more than distortions of the Greek inscription, without any particular significance.

Although the attribution to the various Georgian kings named Giorgi cannot be substantiated, there is a strong presumption that the coins were indeed associated with the name Giorgi, not indeed of a king, but of Georgia’s patron saint of that name, the famous dragon-slayer martyred by Diocletian, and also patron saint of England. In the code of King Wakhtang VI (early eighteenth century), mention is made of a silver piece of ancient times called “Giorgauli.”<sup>2</sup> King Bagrat of Imeret’i in the fifteenth century establishes the wer-geld or blood money of one of his subjects as “80,000 Gogauri (corruption for Giorgauli) t’et’ri.”<sup>3</sup> Now on many of the more degraded specimens of these Georgian “Kirmaneuli” imitations, the only part of the name of St. Eugenius remaining consists of the letters ΓΕ, which might equally well be the beginning of the name of St. George.

It has to be borne in mind that the cult of St. Eugenius was local and peculiar to Trebizond, and quite unfamiliar in Georgia. In Georgian medieval iconography, St. George is omnipresent. He is not always shown on horseback; often he appears full-face holding a lance. If a long cross be substituted for the lance, his effigy is not unlike that of St. Eugenius on the aspers. (Paradoxically, St. Eugenius also had his equestrian phase: when Alexius II of Trebizond and his successors took to being represented on horseback after the familiar Anatolian pattern, St. Eugenius in sympathy also took to horse on the reverse of the coinage). An ikon of the fourteenth century from the church of Sujuna in Mingrelia shows St. George standing facing, with his name inscribed in Greek thus:

<sup>1</sup> Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section II, Pl. I; Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques*, p. 46; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 104 (cf. also Langlois, *Numismatique de la Géorgie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1852, p. 41); Retovsky, *Münzen der Komnenen*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, 1924, p. 58.



O	Γ
A	Є
	O
Γ	P
I	Γ
	I
O	O
C	C

As can be seen, the layout of the lettering resembles that of the Trebizond aspers' reverse.<sup>1</sup> Our theory is, therefore, that the image of St. Eugenius was confused in Georgian popular estimation with the familiar St. George. Father V. Laurent has confirmed in personal discussion that such a transfer of identity of saints or rulers to fit in with local conditions and beliefs was also a frequent occurrence when Imperial Byzantine coinage was imitated by barbarian peoples in the west.

The Atabag of Samtskhe, Aghbugha, who ruled at Akhaltsikhe according to some sources in the late fourteenth, to others in the mid-fifteenth century, alludes in his Code of Laws to the fact that "Qazanuri t'et'ri" (dirhems of Ghāzān Khan) were current there in his grandfather Bek'a's time, but that they had now been replaced by coins "of the time of the great King Giorgi," i.e., Giorgi the Brilliant.<sup>2</sup> This statement does not specify that King Giorgi's name actually appeared on the coins. It has been shown in the chapter on the Mongol Period that the Il-Khans established a mint at Akhaltsikhe under Ghāzān, but it had apparently passed out of their hands by the time of Abū Sa'īd, Giorgi the Brilliant's contemporary. It may well be asked whether the mint was simply dismantled, or if not, what money was then minted in Akhaltsikhe. The evidence of coin hoards shows that Samtskhe, the domains of Bek'a and Aghbugha, was one

<sup>1</sup> E. T'qaishvili, "Sudzhunskaya tserkov' i ee drevnosti," in *Khristiansky Vostok*, V, 1917, pp. 40-50, Pls. XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII. See also *Georgische Kunst: Ausstellung der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Studium Ost-europas*, Berlin, 1930, Abbildung 7: "Hl. Georg aus Oni (XIII Jahrhundert)." This shows an analogous example from Ratcha in Imeret'i.

<sup>2</sup> Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 14; Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, 1924, p. 89.

of the regions where "Kirmaneuli" Trebizond imitations most commonly circulated. The answer in all probability is that in the time of Giorgi the Brilliant, Akhaltsikhe was a centre for the fabrication of imitation aspers, and that these are the coins of which Aghbugha was thinking.

With regard to denomination, Kakabadze concludes that the Kirmaneuli and Giorgauli were of identical value.<sup>1</sup> To have been used in establishing wergeld rates in royal charters, the Giorgauli must have been a coin of recognized pattern and wide circulation. This leads one to doubt whether Kapanadze is justified in identifying certain isolated barbarous imitations of later Il-Khanid issues, on which he tentatively reads the name and title of King Giorgi, with the Giorgauli t'et'ri, especially as his specimens weigh only 1.01 to 1.08 grammes, about half the weight of the Kirmaneuli.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, our view is that Georgian imitations of the asper of John II, usually called Kirmaneuli, were also known as Giorgauli by confusion of St. Eugenius with St. George, and also served as the general currency of western Georgia in the time of King Giorgi the Brilliant.

It is worth adding that the Sukhum Museum in Abkhazia possessed a unique silver piece of Kirmaneuli type discovered in 1927, and bearing the name of Wamiq Dadiani I (1384-96). This interesting piece has been published by Kapanadze, who provides an adequate illustration.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it has some connection with the "Tskhumuri" (? for "Sukhumuri") silver pieces referred to in some medieval wergeld charters, though it is hard to come to any conclusion on the basis of a single specimen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, 1924, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> D. Kapanadze, "Zogiert'i gaurkveveli k'art'uli p'ulis dat'arighebisat'vis," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XIB, 1941, pp. 133-44.

<sup>3</sup> See the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XIIB, 1944, p. 208, Pl. facing p. 203, No. 10; Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana*, II, Baku, 1938, No. 483; *Vizantiysky Vremennik*, III, 1950, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., King Giorgi VIII, 1458: "220,000 dzveli Tskhumuri;" 1463: "400,000 dzveli Tskhumuri" (Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, 1924, p. 63.)

## VII. THE POST-TIMURID PERIOD

(Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)

The ANS collection contains no coins of the Georgian kingdoms dating from this period. The ravages of Tamerlane had reduced the country to a state of ruin and devastation from which it never completely recovered. What rare coins of this epoch have come to light bear witness to the land's deplorable condition by their crude fabric and the debased silver from which they were struck.

Langlois has published coins of Giorgi VII (1393–1407) and Constantine I (1407–12) from the Lori hoard discovered in 1830<sup>1</sup>. Our knowledge of the later fifteenth century monetary series is based principally on the important Gori hoard found in 1935, containing almost ten thousand pieces. The substantial portion acquired by the Tiflis State Museum has been studied and analysed by Kapanadze in an exceedingly able article.<sup>2</sup> Many of the coins are of types previously unknown, and can be ascribed beyond reasonable doubt to Wakh-tang IV (1443–46), Giorgi VIII (1446–66), Bagrat VI (1466–78) and Constantine II (1478–1505).<sup>3</sup> There are also a few which appear to belong to the co-regnancy of Bagrat VI and Constantine II, having traces of the names of both rulers.

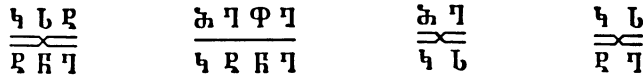
The characteristic type of Constantine II's coinage, of which several hundred were recovered from the hoard, shows on one side a lamb bearing on its back a cross, and on the other the King's name or

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 94–99, Pl. VII, Nos. 11–18. The dubious coins which Langlois ascribed to Giorgi VII and Aḥmad Jalā'ir have been discussed above, in the chapter on the Mongol period.

<sup>2</sup> D. Kapanadze, "XV saukunis k'art'uli p'ulis Goris gandzi," in the Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, 1940, pp. 279–305.

<sup>3</sup> The engravings of coins of other types ascribed by Langlois to some of these kings (*Essai*, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1–8) do not inspire confidence, though comparison with the actual coins now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, shows that they are reasonably faithful reproductions. It should be noted that some of them bear a superficial resemblance to early crude types of Russian den'ga.

monogram in various combinations of Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules:



The Tiflis Museum also possesses a Georgian coin, so far unpublished, attributed by Kapanadze to David X (1505–25).<sup>1</sup>

After David X, the Georgian national coinage seems to have lapsed. The triumph of regional particularism after the death of Alexander I (1412–43) had resulted in the splitting up of Georgia into small principalities, constantly engaged in civil strife. In eastern Georgia, the Bagratids of Kʼartʼli and Kakhetʼi rivalled one another from their capitals at Tiflis and Gremi, failing to form a united front against the new Safavi power in Persia. In the west, Imeretʼi had lost Abkhazia, Mingrelia, Guria and Samtskhe, which were ruled by their own petty dynasts. Samtskhe fell to the Turks in 1578, and the rest of western Georgia suffered from their raids and exactions, which included tributes of male and female slaves, until the Russian occupation in the nineteenth century.

According to a recent report from Tiflis, however, a unique coin bearing the name and effigy of King Giorgi II of Imeretʼi (seventeenth century) has come to light in Svanetʼi. T.ʼ Lomouri is preparing to publish this important find.<sup>2</sup>

As compensation for the decline of the national coinage, the money of neighbouring Muslim powers became generally current in Georgia, where coins of the Shīrvānshāhs, Black and White Sheep Turcomans and early Safavis and Ottoman Sultans are constantly dug up, as well as occasional Venetian sequins and other gold pieces current in the Levant.

<sup>1</sup> Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XB, 1940, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Tiflis Museum *Moambe*, XVIB, 1950, "Muzeumis kʼronika," p. 281.

## VIII. GEORGIA AND THE SAFAVIS

(1604–1722)

The long series of attempts by the Shahs of Persia to bring eastern and southern Georgia by force or cajolement under the Iranian sceptre culminated in 1614 in a systematic effort by Shah ‘Abbās I to depopulate and subjugate Kakhet’i and K‘art‘li. King Luarsab of K‘art‘li was lured into captivity and strangled, and over a hundred thousand Georgians deported to distant parts of Persia. The Shah’s garrisons were installed in what remained of the principal towns, and a puppet ruler, Bagrat VII, installed in Tiflis. The doughty King T‘eimuraz I of Kakhet’i, however, continued for many years to harass the occupying power.

A Persian Imperial mint had begun to operate in Tiflis even before ‘Abbās’s invasion. The earliest coins of the Safavi series minted there bear the date A.H. 1013/1604–5 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and fall in the reign of Giorgi X of K‘art‘li (1600–5), who had been obliged to acknowledge the Shah’s suzerainty following the Persian recapture of Erivan from the Turks in 1602.<sup>2</sup>

As these Tiflis Safavi issues follow well-known Persian patterns, fully described in standard works on the coinage of the Shahs of Iran,<sup>3</sup> it has not seemed necessary to describe in detail each item in the ANS collection, beyond giving lists of dates and reigns represented.

### *Shah ‘Abbās I (1581–1629)*

54. ‘Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1014 (?)/1605–6 A.D.

Irregular oval cast planchet.

℞ 27 mm. 7.13 gr.

PLATE X, 2.

<sup>1</sup> L. Krehl, *De numis muhammadanis in numophylacio regio Dresdeni asservatis commentatio*, Leipzig, 1856, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, London, 1887; H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shāhs of Irān, 1500–1941*, London, 1945, with *Album*, Oxford, 1951.

Three other specimens:

- N.D. 19 mm. 7.09 gr. (thick fabric)  
 N.D. 23 mm. 7.19 gr. (badly struck)  
 N.D. 24 mm. 7.54 gr. (irregular fabric).

The inferior workmanship of these pieces suggests that some of them at least are provincial imitations, possibly from western Georgia. The seventeenth century missionary Father Archangelo Lamberti notes in his "Relation de la Mengrellie" that Prince Levan Dadiani of Mingrelia (1605-57) struck money "avec des caractères arabes, semblable à celle qui a cours dans la Perse, nommée Abassi; mais ceux du pays estiment davantage les réaux d'Espagne et les monnaies étrangères." (See M. Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, tom. I, Paris, 1696, p. 43.)

Autonomous coppers, or fulūs,<sup>1</sup> were struck in every city of importance in Persia from the early seventeenth century. Those of Tiflis are among the earliest examples recorded. Markov and Lane-Poole list a type of A.H. 1012/1603-4 A.D., showing a three-masted ship, and others of subsequent dates depicting the sun rayed, an antelope, a rhinoceros and a lion seizing a bull.<sup>2</sup>

55. Fulūs Tiflis A.H. 1014/1605-6 A.D.

Obv. Lion, facing left; above, ornaments, degradation of sun. Around, arabesque.

Rev. Area, within lozenge, having ornament on each side, shows lion facing left.

Margin:

ضرب فلوس تفلیس ۱۰۱۴

Fulūs struck at Tiflis, A.H. 1014.

Æ 26 mm. 10.20-10.33 gr.

PLATE X, 3.

Markov, *Inventarny Katalog*, p. 766, No. 84; Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. 234, Nos. 95-96; Rabino, *Album of Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shāhs of Irān*, Pl. XXXIII, No. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Plural of Arabic *fals*, standardized in Persian monetary terminology in singular sense.

<sup>2</sup> Markov, *Inventarny Katalog*, pp. 766-67; Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. 235.

This seems an appropriate point at which to include two coppers of obscure type in the ANS collection, although their attribution to Tiflis is open to question.

56. Fulūs Tiflis(?) N.D.

Obv. Lion, left, and sun rayed. Linear border.

Rev. تفلیس (?) Tiflis (?)

ضرب Struck

Æ 26 mm. 8.73 gr.

PLATE X, 4.

57. Fulūs Tiflis(?) N.D.

Obv. Horse, left, within ornamental border.

Rev. تفلیس (?) Tiflis (?)

فلوس fulūs

ضرب struck.

Æ 25 mm. 8.16 gr.

PLATE X, 5.

*Şafî I (1629-42)*

Under this monarch, Perso-Georgian relations took a turn for the better. Şafî owed his throne to the prompt action of the Georgian prince Khusrau-Mîrzâ, the Dârûgha of Isfahan. Khusrau was rewarded with the throne of K'art'li and reigned as King Rostom from 1632 until his death in 1658.

58. 'Abbāsî Tiflis Date effaced.

Æ 21 mm. 7.28-7.49 gr.

PLATE X, 6.

*'Abbās II (1642-66)*

During the reign of 'Abbās II, the aged Rostom died and was succeeded by his adopted son, Wakhtang V, of the Bagratids of

Mukhran. Wakhtang reigned under the title of Shahnavaz as a vassal of the Shahs until his death in 1676.

The silver coins in the ANS collection struck by ‘Abbās II in Tiflis bear the following dates: A.H. 1060 (?), 1061, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075 and 1076.

59. ‘Abbāsī of five shāhī Tiflis A.H. 1069/1658–9 A.D. onwards.

℞ 27–31 mm. 9.01–9.11 gr.

PLATE X, 7.

60. ‘Abbāsī Tiflis Before A.H. 1066/1655–6 A.D.

℞ 23–25 mm. 7.18–7.31 gr.

61. Maḥmādī<sup>1</sup> or half ‘abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1061/1650–51 A.D.

℞ 19 mm. 3.49 gr.

#### *Şafī II, later Sulaymān I (1666–94)*

Coins of this Shah struck at Tiflis are rarer than those of preceding and subsequent reigns. This may reflect the troubled situation resulting from the Persian policy of encouraging the rival prince Erekle I in his pretensions to the throne of K‘art‘li, at the expense of King Giorgi XI.

62. As Şafī II. ‘Abbāsī. Tiflis. A.H. 1078/1667–8 A.D.

℞ 24 mm. 7.27 gr.

63. As Sulaymān I. ‘Abbāsī. Tiflis. A.H. 1094, 109\* and 1104

1682–93 A.D.

℞ 22–27 mm. 6.66–7.34 gr.

PLATE X, 8.

64. As Sulaymān I. Shāhī. Tiflis. Date effaced.

℞ 15 mm. 1.71 gr. (holed).

#### *Shah Sultān Husayn (1694–1722)*

The reign of Sultān Husayn, a prince of exceptional incompetence and superstition, ended in the conquest of Iran by the Afghan invader Maḥmūd and the collapse of the Safavi realm.

<sup>1</sup> Often called Maḥmūdī, but Rabino (*Coins of the Shahs*, p. 15) insists that the coin’s name is an abbreviated form of “Muḥammadi.”



The silver coinage of this reign falls, so far as the Tiflis mint is concerned, into three chronological groups, which will be treated in tabular form:

*Group I, A.H. 1106-24/1694-1713 A.D.*

- |                              |    |           |                        |              |
|------------------------------|----|-----------|------------------------|--------------|
| 65. 'Abbāsī of five shāhī.   | ⲁⲣ | 33 mm.    | 9.09 gr.               | PLATE XI, 1. |
| 66. 'Abbāsī.                 | ⲁⲣ | 23-27 mm. | 7.12-7.37 gr.          |              |
| 67. Maḥmadī or half 'abbāsī. | ⲁⲣ | 19-20 mm. | 3.57-3.64 gr.          |              |
| 68. Shāhī.                   | ⲁⲣ | 16 mm.    | 1.98-2.07 gr (looped). |              |

About A.H. 1127/1715 A.D., this series is superseded by an entirely distinct set of silver coinage, of oval planchet. A solitary round shāhī of A.H. 1128 in the ANS collection testifies however that the change was not altogether complete.

*Group II, A.H. 1127-29/1715-17 A.D. (Oval planchet series).*

- |                            |    |           |               |             |
|----------------------------|----|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| 69. 'Abbāsī of five shāhī. | ⲁⲣ | 27 mm.    | 8.23-8.57 gr. | PLATE XI, 2 |
| 70. Maḥmadī.               | ⲁⲣ | 20-21 mm. | 3.40-3.41 gr. |             |
| 71. Shāhī.                 | ⲁⲣ | 19 mm.    | 1.70 gr.      |             |

The last years of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign, A.H. 1130-34, saw a reversion to the conventional round planchet type of currency. Furthermore, the weights of each denomination were substantially reduced.<sup>1</sup>

*Group III, A.H. 1130-34/1717-22 A.D.*

- |              |    |           |               |              |
|--------------|----|-----------|---------------|--------------|
| 72. 'Abbāsī. | ⲁⲣ | 22-26 mm. | 5.15-5.38 gr. | PLATE XI, 3. |
| 73. Maḥmadī. | ⲁⲣ | 19 mm.    | 2.64 gr.      |              |
| 74. Shāhī.   | ⲁⲣ | 16 mm.    | 1.32-1.35 gr. |              |

<sup>1</sup> This accords with the statement in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London, 1943, p. 60: "In the year when the former Shah was starting for Qazvin (A.H. 1129/1717 A.D.), the weight of an 'abbāsī was fixed at 7 dāngs," equivalent to one and one sixth mithqāls, or 5.38 grams. See also the editor's commentary, pp. 129-32.

## IX. THE COINAGE OF THE HOUSE OF MUKHRAN

(1712-19)

During the early part of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign, K'art'li was governed by Erekle I of the Bagratids of Kakhet'i. In 1703, however, the Mukhranian Bagratids were reinstated. King Giorgi XI of K'art'li was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Persian army, and his nephew Wakhtang became Regent of Georgia. Giorgi and his successor, Kaikhusrau, were killed in the war against the Afghans of Qandahār, and in 1711 Wakhtang became King of K'art'li as Wakhtang VI. In the following year, he went to Isfahan to receive his investiture from the Shah, leaving his brother Simon as Regent in Tiflis.

Simon conceived the idea of reviving a Georgian national monetary series in copper, without of course challenging the standard Safavi silver coinage which was struck at the Shah's Tiflis mint. A convenient precedent was provided by the autonomous coppers struck in all important towns of the Persian empire, including Tiflis itself. The only specifically Georgian feature of the Regent Simon's fulūs, which are dated A.H. 1124/1712-13 A.D., consists of the Georgian mkhedruli characters ზ86, for "Simon," worked into the obverse design, which represents a dragon.<sup>1</sup>

Autonomous coppers of the value of two to three qāzbeḡī,<sup>2</sup> representing a buffalo, but without Georgian inscription, were struck at Tiflis in the same year.<sup>3</sup>

All these coppers are known in general to the Georgians as "shavi p'uli," or black money, or simply as "p'uli," as distinct from "t'et'ri p'uli" or simply "t'et'ri," which means white or silver money. The most common denominations received Georgianized names, such as

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques*, Pl. II, Nos. 11-12; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 110-11, Pl. VIII, Nos. 10-11; W. H. Valentine, *Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States*, pp. 118-19, Nos. 42-44.

<sup>2</sup> 1 qāzbeḡī = 5 dinars =  $\frac{1}{10}$  shāhī =  $\frac{1}{4}$  bīstī.

<sup>3</sup> Valentine, pp. 118-19, Nos. 45-46.

bisti, for bīstī (large copper, worth 20 dinars), shauri, for shāhī, and abazi, for ‘abbāsī, the two most widely used silver pieces.

As he refused to become a Muslim, Wakhtang was detained in Persia for several years. In 1717, the regency of Georgia was granted to his son Bak‘ar, who ruled the country for the next two years, until Wakhtang was allowed to return to Tiflis. Bak‘ar introduced an attractive peacock motif on his copper coinage, of which the ANS collection has four specimens. Their legends being partly effaced, these have been reconstructed, as in the case of later eighteenth century coppers, from specimens illustrated in the literature.

75. Fulūs Tiflis A.H. 1130/1717-18 A.D.

Obv. Peacock to right. In field, behind peacock’s tail, between tail and head, and in front of breast, in Georgian mkhedruli characters, ბჟო, for “Bak‘ar.” Groups of dots artistically disposed in field.

Rev.

تفليس

Tiflis

ضرب ۱۱۳۰

Struck 1130

فلوس

Fulūs.

Groups of dots in field.

Æ 23 mm. 7.89-8.07 gr.

PLATE XI, 4.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. I, No. 1. The ANS collection’s specimens being much rubbed, this example is illustrated by one kindly lent by Professor E. Zygmán.

76. Fulūs Tiflis A.H. 1130.

Obv. Peacock to left. In field, in front of peacock’s breast, between tail and head, and behind tail, in Georgian mkhedruli characters, ბჟო, for “Bak‘ar.” Groups of dots artistically disposed in field.

Rev. As in preceding example.

Æ 24 mm. 8.10 gr.

PLATE XI, 5 (Obv. only).

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. I, No. 4; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 115, No. 59; Valentine, pp. 118-19, No. 50.

77. Fulūs. Tiflis A.H. 1131/1718-19 A.D.

Obv. Peacock to right, etc., as in No. 75.

Rev. As in No. 75, but date: \ \ ۳ \ , A.H. 1131.

Æ 24 mm. 6.86 gr.

PLATE XI, 6.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. I, Nos. 2-3; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 115, No. 58; Valentine, pp. 118-19, No. 47. These fulūs of about 7-8 gr. are of 2 qāzbeḡī = 2 Georgian p'uli. In the writer's possession is a fulūs of this type, value 1 qāzbeḡī = 1 Georgian p'uli, diameter 21 mm., weight 3.99 gr. (date effaced).

Of King Wakhtang VI himself, no coins are known, his residence at Tiflis from 1719 to 1723 being taken up with the conflicts and political complications resulting from the decadence and collapse of the Safavi monarchy.

## X. GEORGIA UNDER OTTOMAN OCCUPATION

(1723–35)

Profiting by the fall of the Safavi empire, the Turkish Sultān Aḥmad III (1703–30) occupied Georgia and most of western Iran in 1723. King Wakhtang VI could not reconcile himself to the exigencies of the occupying power, and in 1724 retired to Russia. Nominal rule under the Turkish authorities was exercised for a time by Wakhtang's renegade brother Iese, who became a Sunnī with the title of Muṣṭafā Pāshā.<sup>1</sup>

The Turks set up a mint at Tiflis as well as at Erivan, Ganja and Tabriz. As usual in Ottoman coins of this period, those struck at Tiflis under Aḥmad III at various dates from A.H. 1138/1725–6 A.D. until his abdication in 1143/1730 all bear Aḥmad's accession date 1115/1703. Likewise, those minted at Tiflis from 1730 until about 1735 by Aḥmad's nephew and successor Maḥmūd I (1730–54) all bear Maḥmūd's accession date A.H. 1143. The theory that the rosettes on many of these Ottoman coins conceal letters with numerical value, representing regnal years, is not now held tenable. It is more likely that they are the monograms of the mint-masters.

Interesting details on these Ottoman mints in Persia and Georgia are given in Ghālīb's work on the coinage of Turkey, where he quotes Küchük Chelebi-zāde, the continuator of the chronicle of Meḥmed Rāshid.<sup>2</sup> According to this account, early in the year A.H. 1138 (late 1725), the Seraskier in command at Tabriz, 'Abdullāh Pāshā Köprülü, acting on authority granted by the Imperial Court, opened a mint there and struck some trial gold pieces. These were sent to the central mint at Constantinople for approval, where they were scrutinized by the experts and found satisfactory as to weight and the fineness of the gold employed. Their workmanship, however, was found deficient;

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> The passages in question occur in the *Ta'riḫ-i Rāshid*, 2nd. ed., VI, Stambul, 1282, pp. 306, 330. On these historians, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 268–70 and 293–94.

the borders were uneven and the requisite ornamental motifs had been omitted. Dies were therefore cut at the Constantinople mint, bearing the mint-names of Tabriz, Erivan and Tiflis, and sent with a pattern piece of each denomination to the Ottoman commanders at these places, together with technical instructions.<sup>1</sup>

*Aḥmad III, Sultan of Turkey (1703–30)*

78. Altūn or sequin funduqlī Tiflis Aḥmad III, accession: A.H. 1115/  
1703 A.D.

Obv. Ṭuḡhrā.

Rev. ضرب في

Struck at

تفليس

Tiflis

۱۱۱۵

1115.

Above, ornamental monogram or rosette.

N 19 mm. 3.44 gr.

PLATE XI, 7.

Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XXIX, Nos. 747–48; S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turks in the British Museum*, London, 1883, No. 480; Ghālīb, *op. cit.*, No. 645. Another kind of gold coin struck at Tiflis under Aḥmad III, with the "Sultān of Two Continents" formula, is described by Ghālīb, No. 644. There are two examples of this latter type in the Garrett Collection in Baltimore.

Ghālīb further mentions that the Ottoman silver coins minted in occupied cities of the Persian empire were specially adapted to conform in weight to the Safavi ‘abbāsī series. The onluq was made to correspond to the ‘abbāsī, the beshlik to the half ‘abbāsī or maḥ-madī.<sup>2</sup> This is fully borne out by the examples in the ANS collection, as will be seen by the descriptions given below. No doubt these silver coins were at first struck on planchets remaining in stock at these mints at the time of the Turkish occupation, more being made on the same standard as later required. In some instances, Safavi silver pieces were restruck with the new dies. (The ANS collection has an ‘abbāsī thus overstruck by the Turkish authorities at Tabriz).

<sup>1</sup> Ismā‘īl Ghālīb, *Taqvīm-i Meskūkāt-i ‘Othmānīyeh*, Constantinople, 1307, pp. 275–76.

<sup>2</sup> Ghālīb, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

This explains the fact that the Ottoman onluq-‘abbāsī minted in Persia and Georgia regularly weigh about 1.1 gram less than their Constantinople prototype, thus equalling the weight of the ‘abbāsī of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn’s last period, i. e., 7 dāngs, or 5.38 grams. It also accounts for the existence of a half beshlik ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  pāṛā) piece from these Turkish-occupied Persian mints, which is really a Persian shāhī. This denomination does not exist in the monetary series struck in Turkey proper.

79. Onluq-‘abbāsī Tiflis Accession: A.H. 1115.

Obv. سلطان البرين	Sulṭān of the Two Continents,
وخاقان البحرين	And Khāqān of the Two Seas,
السلطان بن	Sulṭān, son of
السلطان	The Sulṭān. (Lane-Poole’s “Formula B”).
Rev. Ṭughrā.	
ضرب في	Struck at
تفليس	Tiflis
١١١٥	1115.

AR 24–26 mm. 5.18–5.31 gr. (1 holed).

PLATE XI, 8.

Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Turks*, No. 481; Ghālīb, No. 446; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XXX, No. 754.

80. Beshlik-maḥmadī. Tiflis. Accession: A.H. 1115.

As preceding example.

AR 19 mm. 2.64 gr.

81.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pāṛā or  $\frac{1}{2}$  beshlik-shāhī. Tiflis. Accession: A.H. 1115.

As preceding example.

AR 15 mm. 1.31 gr. (holed).

Ghālīb, No. 647.

Sultan Aḥmad III being deposed in 1730, money continued to be struck at Tiflis by his successor Maḥmūd I, until Tiflis was recaptured by the Persians under Nādir in 1735. The ANS collection does not contain examples of Maḥmūd's Tiflis series, of which however the British Museum and other collections have specimens.<sup>1</sup> The weight standard remained unchanged.

<sup>1</sup> Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Turks*, No. 539; Ghālib, No. 705; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XXX, No. 755.



## XI. NĀDIR SHAH IN GEORGIA

(1735-47)

The phenomenal recovery of Persia under Ṭahmāsp-Qūlī-Khān, the future Nādir Shah, culminated in the expulsion of the Turks from Western Iran. Tiflis was recaptured in 1735. The first coins struck there by the conqueror were in the name of the infant Safavi puppet, ‘Abbās III. The silver standard of Sulṭān Ḥusayn’s last period and of the Osmanli mints in Persia is maintained.

‘Abbās III (1731-36)

82. ‘Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1148/1735-6 A.D.

Standard type with distich:

“Throughout the universe by grace divine a golden money came,  
Struck by God’s shadow, a new emperor, ‘Abbās the Third by name.”

Æ 24-25 mm. 5.30-5.32 gr.

PLATE XI, 9.

Similar to Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, Nos. 208-12; see Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, p. 45.

83. Maḥmadi Tiflis A.H. 1148.

As preceding example.

Æ 18 mm. 2.66 gr.

Nādir Shah (1736-47)

In 1736, Persia’s leader officially assumed the royal title, under the name of Nādir Shah. An important and varied series of silver money was struck at Tiflis in his name.

84. ‘Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1148/1736 A.D.

Obv. First distich:

“By gold in all the earth his kingship shall be famed,  
Phoenix (Nādir) of Persia’s land, world-conqueror, sovereign named.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translation from Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. lxxxv.

Rev. Accession chronogram, composed by the Abjad system:

بتاريخ الخير فيما وقع

In the year "Whatever happens is best," i.e. A.H. 1148.<sup>1</sup> (Arranged in Ṭughrā-form monogram).

تفليس

Tiflis

٤٨ ضرب ١١

Struck in 1148.

℞ 26 mm. 5.32 gr.

PLATE XII, 1.

85. 'Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1149/1736-7 A.D.

Obv. First distich. Below:

تفليس

Tiflis

١١٤٩

1149.

Rev. Accession chronogram, but arranged differently from preceding example.

℞ 24 mm. 5.24 gr.

PLATE XII, 2.

86. 'Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1150/1737-8 A.D. (Two varieties)

Obv. a) As preceding example. Beneath, date: A.H. 1149.<sup>2</sup>

b) As preceding example, but date removed.

Rev.

Accession chronogram:

مانوس الخير فيما وقع

The date of the enthronement of

ميمنت

honoured prosperity: "What-

تاريخ جلوس

ever happens is best," i.e., ac-

cession date, A.H. 1148.

١١٥٠

1150 (date of striking).

℞ 24-26 mm. 4.49-4.59 gr.

PLATE XII, 3.

Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XIII, No. 322.

<sup>1</sup> See the explanation of this chronogram in O. Codrington, *Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London, 1904, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> In this example, the mint-master had neglected to make a new die for the obverse, with the result that mutually contradictory dates appear on the two sides.

The above belong by their standard, if not by their design, to the new currency series introduced by Nādir in the second year of his reign. The weight of the ‘abbāsī was reduced from seven to six dāngs, i.e. one mithqāl, or 4.64 grams. Coins of 300 dinārs (six shāhī) and 500 dinārs (nādirī) weighed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mithqāls respectively.<sup>1</sup>

87. Sīṣad-dinār (6 shāhī) Tiflis A.H. 1150/1737–8 A.D.

Obv. Within circle:

نادر

Nādir

السلطان

The Sulṭān.

ن

Outer linear circle and border of dots.

Rev. الله

May God

خلد

Perpetuate

ملکه تفلیس

His reign; Tiflis,

ضرب ۱۱۵۰

Struck 1150.

R 20–21 mm. 6.79–6.90 gr.

PLATE XII, 4.

Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, No. 226.

88. Sīṣad-dinār Tiflis A.H. 1151/1738–9 A.D.

As preceding example, but date ۱۱۵۱, A.H. 1151.

R 19–20 mm. 6.51–6.81 gr.

Rabino, *Album*, No. 374.

89. Nādirī (10 shāhī) Tiflis A.H. 1152/1739–40 A.D.

Obv. Second distich:

“Over Sulṭāns of earth is Sulṭān,  
Nādir, Shah of Shahs, Ṣaḥibkerān.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the table in Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Translation from Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. lxxxv.

Rev. Within circle:

۱۱۵۲

1152

تفلیس

Tiflis

ضرب

Struck.

AR 23-26 mm. 11.39-11.58 gr.

PLATE XII, 5.

Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, No. 250; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XIV, No. 349.

90. Sīṣad-dīnār Tiflis A.H. 1152.

Similar to Nos. 87 and 88, but date: ۱۱۵۲, A.H. 1152.

AR 17 mm. 6.85-6.88 gr.

PLATE XII, 6.

91. Nādirī Tiflis A.H. 1159/1746-7 A.D.

Similar to No. 89, but date: ۱۱۵۹, A.H. 1159.

AR 24 mm. 11.29 gr.

## XII. THE LAST BAGRATIDS

(1744–1800)

In recognition of their services to the Persian cause, Nādir bestowed in 1744 the throne of K'art'li on T'eimuraz of the Bagratids of Kakhet'i, and Kakhet'i on T'eimuraz's son Erekle.

Three years later, in 1747, the Shah was assassinated, and Persia relapsed into a state of anarchy.

### *T'eimuraz II (1744–62)*

Soon after his accession, T'eimuraz began to strike copper in his name alone, and also, a little later, jointly with that of his son Erekle.<sup>1</sup>

92. Fulūs (p'uli) Tiflis [c. A.H. 1160/1747 A.D.]

Obv. Lion (? tiger) to left. In field, in Georgian mkhedruli characters: ომრზ: T'MRZ, for T'eimuraz.

Rev. ضرب

Struck

فلوس

Fulūs

تفليس

Tiflis.

[Date effaced]

Æ 20 mm. 4.27 gr.

PLATE XII, 7.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. I; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 118, No. 61, Pl. VIII, No. 14; Valentine, pp. 118–19, No. 51.

Although Georgia became virtually independent on the death of Nādir Shah, considerations of economic and political expediency

<sup>1</sup> The latter series, showing a falcon attacking a heron and dated A.H. 1165–69/1751–56 A.D., is not represented in the ANS collection. See Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. I; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 118–19, Pl. VIII, No. 17; Valentine, pp. 118–19, No. 52.

deterred T'eimuraz from immediately striking silver in his own name. The Chronicle of Papuna Orbeliani relates that Nādir's nephew, Shah Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (1748-49), who was anxious to cement an alliance with the Georgians, sent a mint-master to Tiflis, where gold and silver pieces were struck in Ibrāhīm's name.<sup>1</sup> Ibrāhīm was soon afterwards overthrown and killed by Nādir's grandson, Shāhrukh.

93. 'Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1162/1748-9 A.D.

Obv. First distich:

"By grace divine he struck a coinage of imperial worth,  
Shah Ibrāhīm, his gold sun-like illumining the earth."<sup>2</sup>

Rev. Within linear circle:

۱۱۶۲

1162

تفلیس

Tiflis

ضرب

Struck.

AR 20-21 mm. 4.51-4.57 gr.

PLATE XII, 8.

94. 'Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1162.

Obv. Second distich:

"The sun on gold and silver minting set in shame,  
Till in the coin of Ibrāhīm it found new fame."<sup>3</sup>

Rev. As preceding example, but in one instance, outer border of dots is enclosed in double linear circle.

AR 20-21 mm. 4.55-4.57 gr.

PLATE XII, 9.

95. Shāhī Tiflis A.H. 1162.

Obv. ابرا

Ibrā-

هیم

hīm

سلطان

Sulṭān.

<sup>1</sup> M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 2, p. 139; Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 20; Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Translation from Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. lxxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, p. 54. Translated by Dr. G. C. Miles, versified by D.M.L.

Rev. Mint-date formula, as preceding examples.

Æ 14 mm. 1.10 gr. (holed).

PLATE XII, 10.

Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, No. 287; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XVI, No. 405.

With judicious impartiality, mingled with political foresight, the Tiflis mint had also begun striking silver in the name of Ibrāhīm's rival, Shāhrukh. The earliest examples were struck in the year of Nādir's death, A.H. 1160/1747 A.D., and thus antedate the coins of Ibrāhīm. The series continued until about A.H. 1170/1756-7 A.D., by which time Shāhrukh's authority no longer extended outside Khorāsān.

96. Shāhī Tiflis A.H. 1160/1747 A.D. (Two varieties)

Obv. Shī'a pious formula, surrounded in one case by the names of the Twelve Imams, in the other, occupying the whole obverse.

Rev. Distich:

"Throughout the world he struck his coin by grace divine,  
Shāh Rukh the watchful hound of 'Alī Rīzā's shrine."<sup>1</sup>

Beneath:

تفلیس ۱۱۶

116(0) Tiflīs

Æ 13-14 mm. 1.11-1.16 gr. (1 holed).

Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, Nos. 306-7.

97. 'Abbāsī Tiflis A.H. 1162-1170/1748-57 A.D. (Five examples)

Obv. Shī'a pious formula, surrounded in four examples (A.H. 1162, 1163, 1164, 1170) by the names of the Twelve Imams.

Rev. Distich of Shāhrukh. Beneath, mint-date formulae: A.H. 1162, 1163, 1164, 1169, 1170.

Æ 20-24 mm. 4.50-4.62 gr.

PLATE XIII, 1.

Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, No. 315; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XVI, Nos. 419-20.

By 1752, T'eimuraz and Erekle had vindicated Georgia's newfound independence in several hard-won battles against competing Persian pretenders. The Georgian princes now judged the time ripe for an issue of silver coinage of independent type for local circulation, and

<sup>1</sup> Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, p. lxxxvi.

especially for paying the mercenaries in their army. A design was evolved which would be acceptable to Muslim and Christian alike, bearing an unexceptionable Qur'ānic formula, but without mention of either Muḥammad's name or those of the Georgian princes.

The standard of these anonymous Tiflis abazi ('abbāsī) was now reduced from six dāngs to four (i.e. from one mithqāl to 2/3). An official document of 1787 refers to the "abazi of 4 dangi from the new mint."<sup>1</sup> Four dangi or dāngs is equivalent to 3.09 grams. This standard was adhered to until the end of the Bagratid monarchy.

98. Abazi ('abbāsī) Tiflis A.H. 1166/1752-3 A.D.

Obv.	الحمد لله	Praise to God
	رب	Lord of
	العالمين	The Universe (Qur'ān, I, i).

Ornamental foliage motifs and clusters of dots.  
Linear border.

Rev. Within looped ornamental border:

١١٦٦	1166
تفليس	Tiflis
ضرب	Struck.

Double linear border, with circle of large dots between the two linear circles.

R 19 mm. 3.02 gr.

PLATE XIII, 2.

Langlois, *Essai*, p. 117, Pl. VIII, No. 15.

### *Erekle II (1762-98)*

The venerable King T'eimuraz went in 1760 on a fruitless mission to St. Petersburg to seek military and economic aid from the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna. He died in Russia on his return journey, and was

<sup>1</sup> S. Kakabadze, in *Saistorio Moambe*, II, 1924, p. 279.



succeeded by his son Erekle. Until then, T'eimuraz had reigned in K'art'li and Erekle at T'elavi in Kakhet'i, though the two kings usually worked in close collaboration. Erekle now ruled at Tiflis over the two east Georgian kingdoms reunited.

From a military standpoint, Erekle's reign was a glorious one, though Georgia had much to suffer from the depredations of the Lezghis of Daghestan and their Turkish allies. The economic situation became increasingly critical. In 1783, Erekle signed a treaty of alliance and protectorate with Russia. This brought him little advantage, but provoked the invasion of Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār, who sacked Tiflis in 1795. Erekle died at T'elavi in 1798.

With the help of Greek artisans from Anatolia, gold, silver and copper mines were operated at Akhtala in the south of K'art'li. The ravages of 'Omar Khan of the Avars in 1785, however, resulted in the slaughter of many of the skilled workers and the destruction of most of the mining and refining equipment.

The silver minted at Tiflis under Erekle forms an extensive but uniform series. The Tiflis mint was farmed out to an Armenian contractor. In general, the silver coinage was modelled on the type evolved by T'eimuraz II in 1752, and described above (No. 98). In the design of the abazi (the Georgian orthography of 'abbāsi), the only important innovation is the addition of the formula *يا كريم*, O [God the] All-Bountiful, which appears in a small cartouche at the head of the reverse.

Use of this formula constitutes a complimentary play on the name of Kerīm Khān Zand, regent of Persia (1759-79), on whose coins it commonly appears. This does not imply any political dependence of Erekle on Kerīm Khān, but is rather a polite gesture of conciliation, calculated no doubt to make the Georgian currency acceptable throughout Persia. The formula became stereotyped, and still appears on Georgian abazi twenty years after Kerīm's death.

The date formula on these Georgian abazi either appears at the top of the reverse inscription, as on the abazi of T'eimuraz II, or else is worked more or less haphazardly into the centre or lower area.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 121-22, Nos. 64-66. (Langlois' No. 63 is a rare double-abazi of similar type.); Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, Nos. 366, 373, 376, 391-93; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XVIII, No. 464, Pl. XIX, Nos. 495-96.

The half-abazi, often known in Georgia by the Perso-Turkish name of "uzalt'uni," for yūz-āltūn, a hundred dinārs, bears on the obverse the formula *يا كرم* interlaced, occupying the whole area, within an ornamented border. The reverse has the mint-date formula, within a linear circle.<sup>1</sup>

99. Anonymous silver of Erekle II Tiflis.

YEAR	DENOMINATION	DIAMETER	WEIGHT
A.H. 1183/1769-70 A.D.	Abazi	20 mm.	3.07 gr.
			PLATE XIII, 3.
	Half-abazi	17 mm.	1.36 gr. (holed)
1190	Abazi	22 mm.	2.83 gr.
1193	Abazi	22 mm.	3.04 gr.
	Half-abazi	15 mm.	1.39 gr. (holed)
1194	Abazi	20 mm.	2.91 gr.
1195	Abazi	18 mm.	2.84-2.96 gr.
1196	Abazi	20 mm.	2.80 gr. (holed)
1197	Abazi	20 mm.	2.81 gr.
1198	Abazi	19 mm.	2.85 gr. (holed)
1201	Abazi	19 mm.	2.93-2.96 gr.
1202	Abazi	20 mm.	2.82 gr.
1203	Abazi	19 mm.	2.95 gr.
1204	Abazi	21 mm.	2.91 gr.
1205	Abazi	21-22 mm.	2.94-3.01 gr.
			PLATE XIII, 4.
1206	Abazi	22 mm.	2.94 gr.
	Half-abazi	15 mm.	1.19 gr. (holed)
			PLATE XIII, 5.
1207	Abazi	19 mm.	2.26-2.82 gr.
1209	Abazi	19-20 mm.	2.86-3.01 gr.
1210	Abazi	18 mm.	2.67 gr.
A.H. 1211/1796-7 A.D.	Abazi	19-20 mm.	2.85-2.93 gr.
			PLATE XIII, 6.
	Half-abazi	16 mm.	1.46 gr.

The State Coin Cabinet in Munich has specimens bearing the following additional dates: A.H. 1180, 1182, 1184, 1192, 1199, 1208 and 1212. Langlois lists several other years. This proves that the

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, p. 122, No. 67; Poole, *Shahs of Persia*, Nos. 367, 381; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XIX, Nos. 476, 498.

uniform Tiflis silver series originated in or about the year 1180/1766-67, and was minted continuously thereafter.

In his copper coinage, which was intended mainly for local circulation within Georgia, Erekle allowed himself far more liberty. Its iconography gives interesting evidence of Georgia's increasingly stressed Russian orientation.

According to Erekle's grandson, T'eimuraz Batonishvili, copper or "shavi p'uli" ("black money," cf. Persian "pūl-i-siyāh") was struck by Erekle in four denominations:

Bisti (bistī), worth 4 p'uli or 4 qāzbeḡi or 20 dīnārs  
Double p'uli  
P'uli  
Half-p'uli.<sup>1</sup>

The ANS collection has specimens of each denomination except the last, which seems to be very uncommon.

100. Double p'uli Tiflis A.H. 1179/1765-6 A.D.

Obv. Regal insignia: Above, royal crown. Beneath, scales of justice. Between scales, globus cruciger. Two swords disposed to left and right of crown.

Rev. Above, within ornamental frame, in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules: ⴁⴃⴃⴃ, surmounted by sign of abbreviation, "Erekle." Beneath frame, to left and right, two stars. In centre, horizontal bar, below which:

تفليس ۱۱۷۹

Tiflis 1179


ضرب

Struck

Æ 23-26 mm. 8.0-8.51 gr.

PLATE XIII, 7-9.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. II, Nos. 1-2; Langlois, *Essai*, p. 123, No. 69; Valentine, pp. 120-21, No. 57. None of the specimens illustrated in the literature shows the final digit "9" of the date, which appears in isolation to the right of the mint-name "Tiflis," and is clearly discernible on two of the specimens in the ANS collection.

Counterstamped on obv. or rev. with Erekle's monogram in square incuse: 

<sup>1</sup> Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 28.

**101.** P'uli Tiflis A.H. 117\* (? 1179).

Design as previous example. No counterstamp.

Æ 21 mm. 4.76 gr.

PLATE XIII, 10.

**102.** Double p'uli Tiflis A.H. 119\* (? 1190)/1776-7 A.D. ?

Obv. Fish between two leaf designs. Double linear border, with circle of dots between the two linear circles.

Rev. In Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules: ღ ლ ზ surmounted by sign of abbreviation, for "Erekle."

Below: تفليس Tiflis

ضرب Struck

۱۱۹\* 119\*

Border as obverse.

Æ 25 mm. 11.18 gr.

PLATE XIV, 1.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. II, Nos. 3-4; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 122-23, No. 68. The last digit on our specimen is effaced. Langlois states that examples of this type are known of most dates between A.H. 1179 and 1206/1765-1792 A.D., but the present writer has seen only the dates A.H. 1190 (specimen in the Chase National Bank Museum of Moneys of the World) and 119\*.

**103.** P'uli Tiflis A.H. 11\*\*

As previous example. Oval planchet.

Æ 24 mm. 5.90-5.94 gr.

PLATE XIV, 2.

**104.** Bisti Tiflis A.H. 1201 }  
A.D. 1787 } Dated by both systems

Obv. Double-headed eagle, holding to left, sceptre, to right, globus cruciger. Below, in European numerals, date: 1787 (effaced on one specimen).

Rev. Erekle's name in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, with mint-date formula in Arabic characters below: Tiflis, 1201/1786-7 A.D.

Æ 27 mm. 16.62 gr.

The Russian eagle on this and the following examples reflects Erekle's acceptance of Imperial suzerainty by the Treaty of 1783.

As previous example, but date on obverse 1781.

PLATE XIV, 3.

As Langlois justly observes, the Hijra and Christian dates on the two sides of this series frequently fail to correspond, as a result, no doubt, of the die-engravers' faulty knowledge of comparative chronology.

Obv. Single-headed eagle, holding to right sceptre and to left, globus cruciger.

Rev. Erekle's name in Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules, with mint-date formula below: Tiflīs, 1210/1795-6 A.D.

PLATE XIV, 4.

On one example, Erekle's monogram as counterstamp in square incuse.

A few specimens of the single-headed eagle type, but with reverse copied from the silver abazi of Erekle's reign, were struck in gold.<sup>1</sup> These were not in general circulation, but were for presentation to the Russian court.

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, *Essai*, p. 125; Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 57.

*Giorgi XII (1798-1800)*

When he came to the throne, Giorgi was already a sick man. The threat of Persian and Lezghian invasion, coupled with hostile intrigues by rival members of the royal family, compelled him to place the kingdom of K'art'lo-Kakhet'i under direct Russian rule. The proviso was made that the Bagratid dynasty was to be maintained as hereditary Viceroys under the Tsar. After Giorgi's death in December, 1800, his eldest son David governed as nominal Regent for a few months. By the manifesto of September 12th., 1801, the Emperor Alexander I finally abolished the east Georgian monarchy and removed the Bagratids from power.

The annexation of the western Georgian kingdom of Imeret'i followed in 1810.

Giorgi XII's silver coinage is simply a continuation of the standard anonymous series minted at Tiflis over the previous half century. The standard of the abazi was maintained at four dangs as before.

**107. Abazi** Tiflis A.H. 1213/1798-9 A.D.

Obv. Qur'ān, I. i. (As No. 98)

Rev. Mint-date formula: Tiflis, 1213.

Above, in cartouche, Arabic pious exclamation: "O [God the] All-Bountiful."

Æ 18 mm. 2.95 gr. (holed).

PLATE XIV, 5.

Langlois, *Essai*, p. 126, No. 73; Rabino, *Album*, Pl. XIX, No. 497.

**108. Half-abazi** (? shauri) Tiflis A.H. 1213.

Obv. Interlaced Arabic formula: "O [God the] All-Bountiful".

Rev. Mint-date formula: Tiflis, 1213.

Æ 18 mm. 0.74 gr.

PLATE XIV, 6.

Langlois, *Essai*, p. 126, No. 74. The ANS specimen is of base silver and crude workmanship, and, if intended for a half-abazi, much under weight. It may well be a counterfeit.

**109. Double p'uli** Tiflis A.H. 1213.

Obv. Fish between two leaf designs.

Rev. In Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules: **ⴗⴓⴑⴓⴗⴓ**, Giorgi.

Below, mint-date formula: Tiflis, 1213.

Æ 21–22 mm. 9.04–9.84 gr.

PLATE XIV, 7.

Barataev, *Num. fakty*, section IV, Pl. II, Nos. 11–12; Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 124–27, No. 75.

110. P<sup>u</sup>li Tiflis A.H. 1213.

Design as preceding example.

Æ 20 mm. 4.43 gr.

*David Batonishvili, Regent (1801).*

Giorgi's son, Prince David, had time to issue only one type of copper coin before the kingdom was absorbed by Russia. Its design revives the peacock motif of Bak'ar's reign.<sup>1</sup> Since, however, the existence of this type is attested by only one specimen, from the Barataev collection, its attribution is subject to caution, especially as the mint-name "Tiflis" is not clearly legible.

<sup>1</sup> See Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 127–28, Pl. IX, No. 10.

### XIII. THE RUSSO-GEORGIAN SERIES

(1804-34)

Following the occupation of Georgia, the Russian authorities were soon inconvenienced by the scarcity of money in circulation. It was not found feasible immediately to replace the Georgian monetary system and that of the neighbouring Transcaucasian Khanates by that of Russia. Moreover, the Emperor Alexander felt that the introduction of a distinctive coinage for Georgia would be a concession to the people's national susceptibility and help to reconcile them to their loss of sovereignty. Preparations were made for the reorganization of the old Tiflis mint under Russian control.

Designs for the new coinage were approved by the Emperor in October, 1802. The general direction of the Tiflis mint was entrusted to Count Apollo Musin-Pushkin, the head of the mining department of the Georgian administration.<sup>1</sup> The mint was officially opened on September 15th, 1804, under the auspices of the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Tsitsianov. A commemorative medal struck for the occasion shows the Russian eagle soaring towards Iberia and Colchis, bearing in its claws the Golden Fleece, with the legend: "Pokhishchennoe Vozvrashchaet," i. e., "It restores what was stolen."<sup>2</sup>

Details about the staffing of the mint, its budget and technical problems involved in its operation are contained in the important collection of official documents published by the Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich.

The silver standard was fixed at 88/96, or 916<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> fine. The weights of the various denominations were established as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, *Russkie monety chekanennye dlya Prussii (1759-1762), Gruzii (1804-1833), Pol'shi (1815-1841), i Finlyandi (1864-1890)*, St. Petersburg, 1893, section II, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, p. 58, Pl. IX.



## SILVER

Double abazi:	1 zolotnik, 46 doli.	6.3 gr.
Abazi:	71 doli.	3.15 gr.
Half-abazi:	35½ doli.	1.57 gr.

## COPPER

Bisti:	3 zolotniks, 62 doli.	15.55 gr.
Double p'uli:	1 zolotnik, 79 doli.	7.77 gr.
P'uli:	87½ doli.	3.88 gr.

(The Russian pound = 96 zolotniks = 9216 doli  
 1 zolotnik = 96 doli = 4.266 gr.)

Although somewhat lighter in weight, the abazi was officially equated with the Russian 20 copeck silver piece, and the other denominations in proportion.

The copper series was struck until 1810 only.

Each denomination bears at the head of the reverse a letter of the Georgian mkhedruli alphabet, having a corresponding numerical value computed in terms of the Persian dīnār:

## SILVER

Double abazi:	letter	ჟ, U = 400
Abazi:		ბ, S = 200
Half-abazi:		გ, R = 100

## COPPER

Bisti:	letter	კ, K = 20
Double p'uli:		ი, I = 10
P'uli:		ე, E = 5

The following table illustrates the two-fold integration of the new Russo-Georgian currency into the Russian and Persian monetary scales:

GEORGIAN	PERSIAN	VALUE	
		IN DĪNĀRS	RUSSIAN
T'umani	Tūmān	10,000	10 roubles (Imperial).
Manet'i or	Mīn-āltūn or	1,000	1 rouble
Minalt'uni (5 abazi)	Hazār dīnār		
Marchili	Shishṣad dīnār	600	60 copecks
Double abazi	Dū 'abbāsī	400	40 copecks
Abazi or t'elt'i	'Abbāsī	200	20 copecks
Half-abazi,	Maḥmadī or		
Uzalt'uni or	Yūz-āltūn	100	10 copecks
T'angiri			
Shauri	Shāhī	50	5 copecks
Bisti	Bistī	20	2 copecks
Double p'uli	Fulūs of 2 qāzbeḡī	10	1 copeck
P'uli	Qāzbeḡī	5	½ copeck or denga. <sup>1</sup>

The fact that the numerical values of the Georgian characters inscribed on the various denominations of the Russo-Georgian series corresponded to their value on the Persian dīnār scale was pointed out a century ago by M.-F. Brosset.<sup>2</sup> This inescapable truth has since been obscured by patriotic Georgian historians, unwilling it would seem to accept this evidence of Georgia's dependence on the Persian monetary system. A. A. Tsagareli, for example, thought that the numerical values expressed by the letters on the Russo-Georgian coins were in Georgian p'uli.<sup>3</sup> This is obviously wrong when it is remembered that the single p'uli, worth five Persian dīnārs, bears the letter "E", value 5, and not the equivalent of the figure 1, which would be the letter "A".

More recently, Professor I. Javakhishvili lent his authority to an equally untenable theory, which gained currency by being summarized in Dr. Joseph Karst's excellent summary of Georgian numis-

<sup>1</sup> Much of this information is taken from Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, pp. 12-18 and Table II. It should be noted that this dīnār scale continued in operation in Persia until 1932, when it was edicted that the dīnār was to be the one thousandth part of the tūmān.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Géorgie*, pp. CLXXXVI-CLXXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, *Russkie monety... dlya Gruzii*, p. III.

matic history.<sup>1</sup> According to Javakhishvili, the basis of the Georgian monetary system was not the *dīnār*, but half a drachm weight of copper. This theory is based on a remark of Dr. J. Güldenstädt of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who visited Georgia in 1771 and observed that the Georgian copper *p'uli* weighed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  drachms. As the *p'uli* in the Russo-Georgian series bore the letter "E" for 5, Javakhishvili assumed that the basic unit was a fifth of this coin's weight in copper (i.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  drachm or 1.86 gr.)

The objections to this system may be summarized as follows:

1) It confuses the issues of weight and denomination. No permanent monetary system could have been established in Georgia on a weight basis, as the weights of the various denominations fluctuated from time to time to suit the fiscal policy of the moment. One could as well weigh a U.S. cent of 1953 and conclude that the American monetary system was permanently based on the unit of 3.05 grams of copper.

2) Georgia was on a silver and not a copper standard. Even when silver ceased to be coined during the silver famine of the 12th and early 13th centuries, Queen T'amar's coppers are labelled "Vetskhli," i.e. silver pieces, confirming that they were minted to take the place of silver.

3) Professor Javakhishvili's theory ignores the fact that the very names of many Georgian units of currency are taken from the Persian. The large copper, with its value expressed by the letter "K", for 20, is called *bisti* in Georgian because it corresponds to the Persian *bistī*, which signifies "coin of 20," so called because it was worth 20 *dīnārs*. "Uzalt'uni," the Georgian word for a half-abazi, labelled in the Russo-Georgian series with the letter "R", equalling 100, is the Perso-Turkish *yūz-āltūn*, which means one hundred *āltūn* or *dīnārs*. Georgian acquaintances confirm that this term is still used in popular parlance, and that the phrase "two abazi and an uzalt'uni"

<sup>1</sup> I. Javakhishvili, "K'art'uli sap'as-sazomebis mtsodneoba anu numizmatika," in the journal *Chveni metsniereba*, Tiflis, 1924; Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, pp. 21-23. It may be observed in parentheses that Professor Javakhishvili's contributions in the numismatic field, which lay outside his main interests, were not wholly happy. It is to be regretted that he failed to see the value of Pakhomov's *Monety Gruzii*, to which he devoted some ten pages of largely unjustified adverse criticism in the journal *Khristiansky Vostok* for 1912.

will be heard in Georgia to this day, instead of the term fifty copecks or half a rouble being employed. A rouble, furthermore, was called "minalt'uni" in Georgian because mīn-āltūn or bīn-āltūn was used in Safavi Persia as a synonym for hazār dinār, or one thousand dinārs or āltūn, equivalent to one Russian rouble.<sup>1</sup>

4) Professor Javakhishvili's calculation of the weight of the Georgian p'uli seems inaccurate in itself. The German or apothecary's drachm which Gūldenstädt, a German doctor and chemist, was using in his computation weighs 3.73 grams. Gūldenstädt's "two and a half drachms" were thus equivalent to 9.32 grams. This is the weight, not of the single, but of the double p'uli of Erekle's reign, as may be seen from the examples described in the previous chapter. The double p'uli in the Russo-Georgian series bore the letter "I" for 10. The theoretical single unit of Georgian currency, which Javakhishvili refused to recognize as the dinār, weighed about 1770 not a half, but a quarter drachm of copper (i.e. 0.93 gr.)

Professor Javakhishvili's system was challenged by S. Kakabadze in the Tiflis *Bulletin Historique*.<sup>2</sup> It is based on a series of misconceptions, and must be set aside in favour of the interpretation proposed by Brosset, based on the Persian dinār scale to which the Georgian currency had been linked during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

Count Musin-Pushkin intended at one point that the unit of the copper series should indeed be the Georgian p'uli itself, and gave instructions that the bisti should be numbered 4, the double p'uli 2, and the single p'uli 1.<sup>4</sup> This system was not put into operation.

There exists a rare trial proof of the 1804 abazī struck at the Imperial St. Petersburg mint with the letter ⴁ, "K", numerical value 20, instead of "S" for 200.<sup>5</sup> This represents an abortive attempt to express the coin's value in copecks, and was not proceeded with.

<sup>1</sup> See Rabino, *Coins of the Shahs*, p. 42, and Table IV: Value Iranian coins would thus have in Foreign currencies.

<sup>2</sup> Saistorio Moambe, II, 1924, pp. 282-88.

<sup>3</sup> That the Georgian local accounting system was based well into the 19th century on this scale is clearly shown by the table of monetary equivalents of letters of the Georgian alphabet given by the Georgian lexicographer D. Chubinov (Chubinashvili) in his *Dictionnaire Géorgien-Russe-Français*, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. III.

<sup>4</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, No. 2.

The Russian letters which appear at the foot of the obverse of the silver issue only are the initials of the mint-masters at Tiflis, viz:

П. З. — Peter Zaytsev	(1804–1806)
А. К. — Aleksey Karpinsky	(1806–1824)
А. Т. — Alexander Trifonov	(1810–1831)
В. К. — Vasily Kleymenov	(1831–1833) <sup>1</sup>

The Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich published statistics showing the quantities of each denomination struck each year. These particulars are summarized in the *Courrier Numismatique* for March, 1932, No. 27.

The silver pieces have oblique braided (slant-milled) edges. The copper are milled in both directions, forming a lattice pattern.<sup>2</sup>

The dates are indicated as follows:

1804	ჩყდ	1819	ჩყოთ
1805	ჩყე	1820	ჩყჰ
1806	ჩყვ	1821	ჩყჰა
1807	ჩყზ	1822	ჩყჰბ
1808	ჩყც	1823	ჩყჰგ
1809	ჩყთ	1824	ჩყჰდ
1810	ჩყი	1826	ჩყჰვ
1811	ჩყია	1827	ჩყჰზ
1812	ჩყიბ	1828	ჩყჰც
1813	ჩყიგ	1829	ჩყჰთ
1814	ჩყიდ	1830	ჩყლ
1815	ჩყივ	1831	ჩყლა
1816	ჩყივ	1832	ჩყლბ
1817	ჩყიზ	1833	ჩყლგ
1818	ჩყიზ		

<sup>1</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, pp. 45–48; F. Kraumann, "Gruzinské mince za carského Ruska," in *Numismatické Listy*, III, No. 3, Prague, 1948, p. 44; *Courrier numismatique*, VI, No. 27, 1932, pp. 12–13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. Elliott Smith, "Coin Edges," in *The Numismatist*, December, 1943, pp. 998–1002.

The examples of the series in the ANS collection are as follows:

**111. Double abazi Tiflis**

Obv. ტფილისი Tp'ilisi (Tiflis)

Above, mural crown. Below, palm and olive branch, crossed *en sautoir*.

Rev. უ U = 400

ქართული K'art'uli (Georgian)

თეთრი t'et'ri (white, i.e. silver)

Date: 1804, 1809, 1821, 1827, 1830, 1831, 1833.

Initials of Russian mint-master.

AR 23-25 mm. 5.76-6.46 gr.

PLATE XV, 1-2.

A complete set of illustrations is given in the Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich's definitive work. See also Langlois, *Essai*, pp. 129-33; Karst, *Précis de numismatique géorgienne*, pp. 58-60, Pl. X.

**112. Abazi Tiflis**

Design as Double Abazi, but Rev., above: ზ S = 200. Date: 1821, 1831.

AR 20 mm. 3.18 gr.

PLATE XV, 3.

**113. Half abazi Tiflis**

Design as Double Abazi, but Rev., above: რ R = 100.

Date: 1823, 1828.

AR 16 mm. 1.51-1.54 gr.

PLATE XV, 4.

**114. Bisti Tiflis**

Design as Double Abazi, but mint-masters' initials omitted on copper denominations. The word "t'et'ri" on the Rev. is replaced by "P'uli" (ფული), signifying copper money.

Rev., above: კ K = 20.

Date: 1810.

Æ 31 mm. 15.80-16.52 gr.

PLATE XV, 5.

**115. Double p'uli Tiflis**

As Bisti, but Rev., above: ი I = 10.

Date: 1805, 1808.

Æ 25-26 mm. 7.24-7.92 gr.

PLATE XV, 6.

## 116. P'uli Tiflis

As Bisti, but Rev., above: 3 E = 5.

Date: 1806.

Æ 20 mm. 3.99 gr.

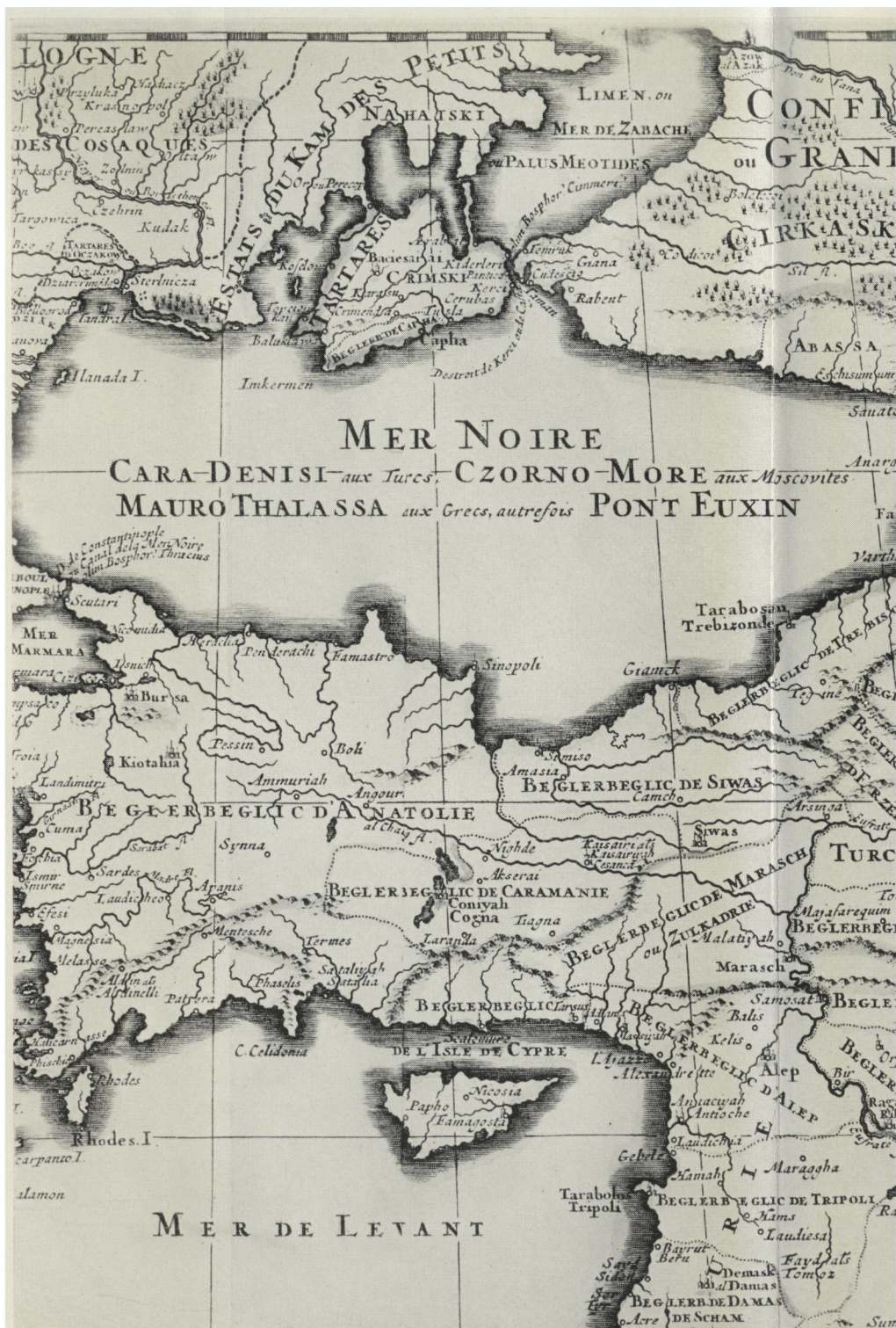
PLATE XV, 7.

The running expenses of the Tiflis mint as well as technical considerations of a fiscal character soon caused the Russian Finance Ministry to press for its closure. In 1824, however, the Emperor Alexander signified his desire that it should be maintained in operation. Under Nicholas I, the Council of State finally decided in 1832 to recommend its suppression as soon as its current stocks of silver were exhausted. Double abazi were struck until February, 1834, though still bearing the date 1833, and the mint's operations then came to an end.<sup>1</sup>

Official reports show that these Russo-Georgian coins continued to circulate for many years after the closure of the Tiflis mint, as well as the old abazi of Erekle's time and various Persian and Turkish coins in traditional use. A Georgian acquaintance from Ratcha in Western Georgia states, for example, that the pârâ was common there in his youth. Until the 1917 Revolution, however, the official currency was that of the Russian Empire.

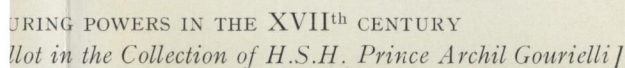
<sup>1</sup> Grand-Duke Georgy Mikhailovich, pp. IV-V; further documents on the Tiflis mint and related questions of Russian financial policy in Georgia are to be found in the same author's *Monety Tsarstvovaniya Imperatora Nikolaya I*, St. Petersburg, 1890, Nos. 91, 94, 104, 122, 131, 169, 271, 294, 301.





GEORGIA AND NEIGHBOURING POWERS IN  
[From a contemporary map by H. Laillot in the Collecti





## LIST OF GEORGIAN MINT TOWNS

<i>Town</i>	<i>Period of mint's operation</i>
AKHALTSIKHE	Mongol and Trapezuntine periods
DIOSCURIAS (SUKHUM)	Classical; 14th century
DMANISI	Mongol
K'UT' AIS	Intermittently, 11th century onwards
PHASIS	Classical (? mint for coins of Colchis?)
QARĀ-AGHĀCH (QARAGHAJI)	Mongol
TIFLIS	6th century to Tsarist period

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#### *Cartographical Note*

The map showing Georgia and neighbouring areas in the late 17th century is a section of H. Laillot's map, "Estats de l'Empire du Grand Seigneur des Turcs, en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, divisé en tous ses Beglerbeglicz, ou Gouvernements, où sont aussi remarqués les Estats qui luy sont Tributaires, dressé sur les plus nouvelles relations à l'usage de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne." It is reproduced here by kind permission of the map's owner, Prince Archil Gourielli.



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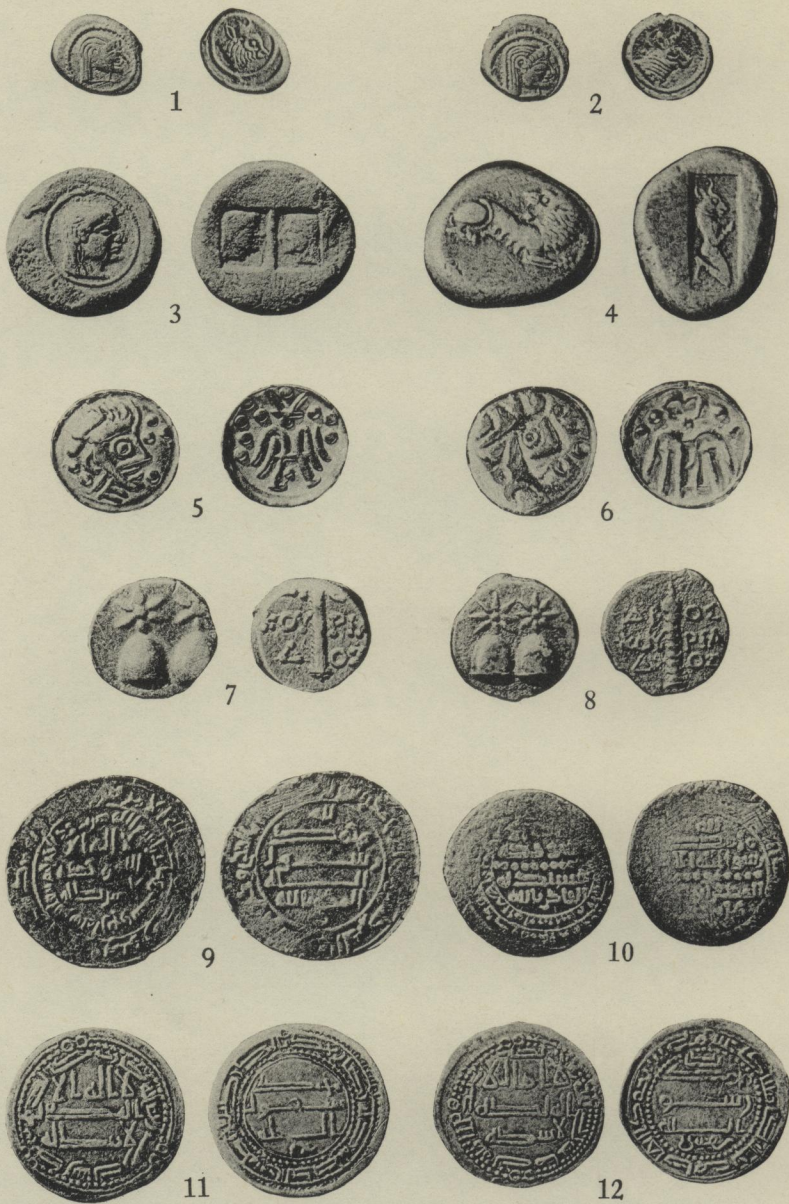
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## PLATES



I



CLASSICAL PERIOD (1-8); EMIRS OF TIFLIS (9-10);  
BAGRAT III (11-12)



GIORGI III (1); QUEEN T'AMAR (2-8);  
JALAL AL-DIN (9)





JALAL AL-DIN (1-2); QUEEN RUSUDAN (3-6);  
FIRST MONGOL SERIES (7-8)



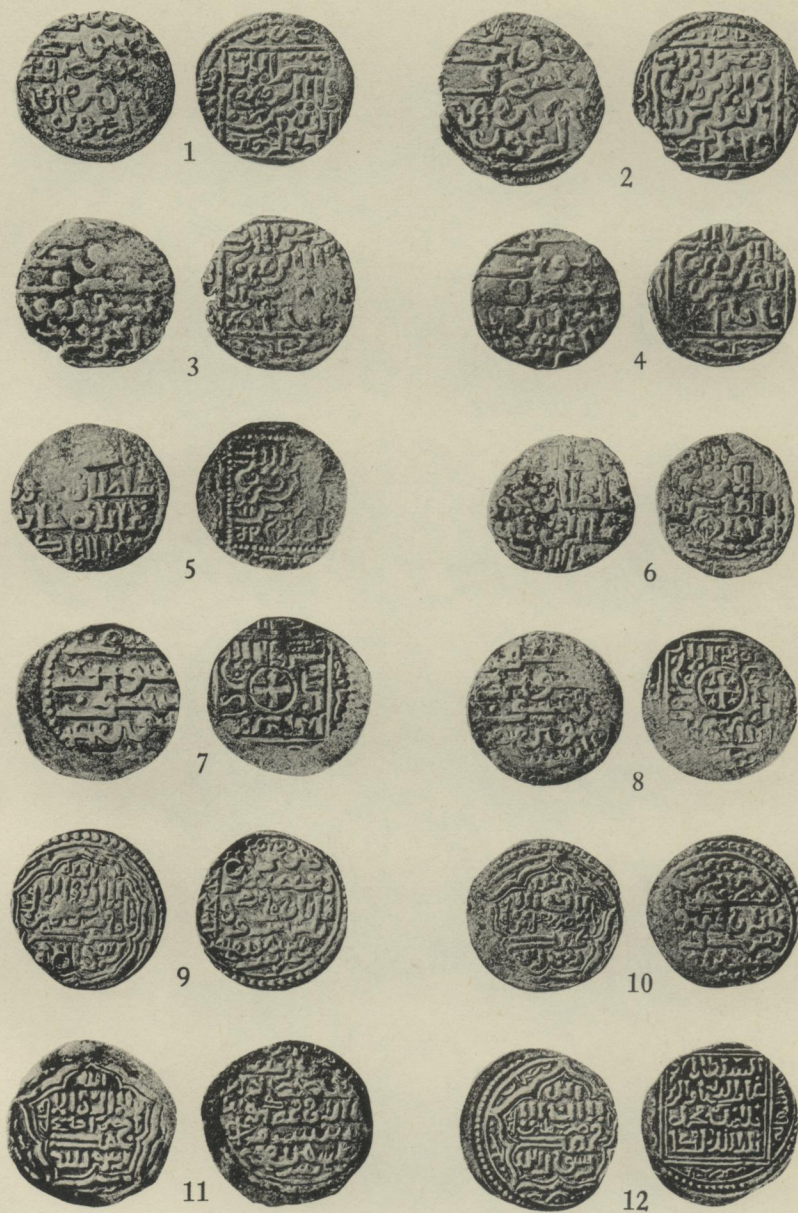
FIRST MONGOL SERIES (1); DAVID NARIN (2);  
MANGU KHAN (3-7); HULAGU KHAN (8-11)



V

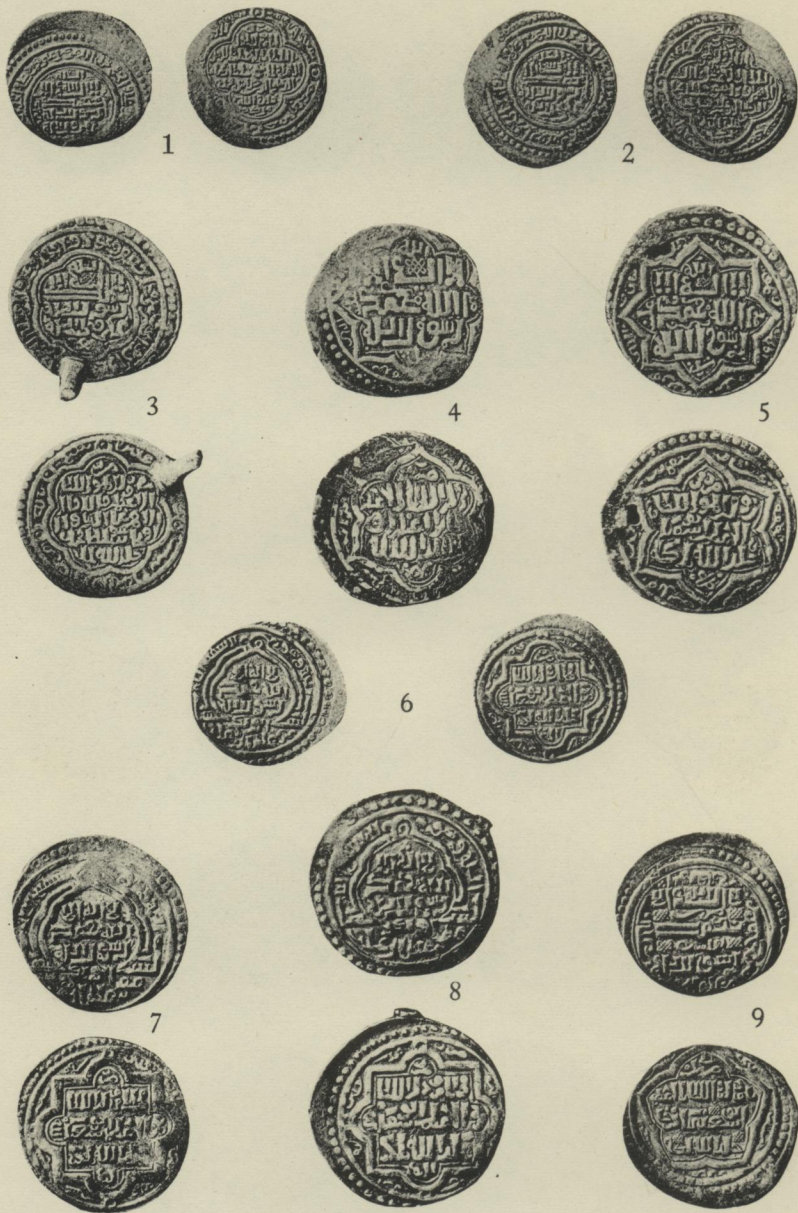


IL-KHANS: ABAGHA (1-8); AHMAD (9);  
ARGHUN (10-12)



IL-KHANS: ARGHUN (1-2); GAIKHATU (3-4);  
GHAZAN (5-11); ULJAITU (12)





IL-KHANS: ULJAITU (1-4); ABU SA'ID (5-9)



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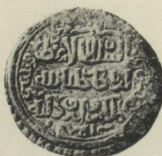
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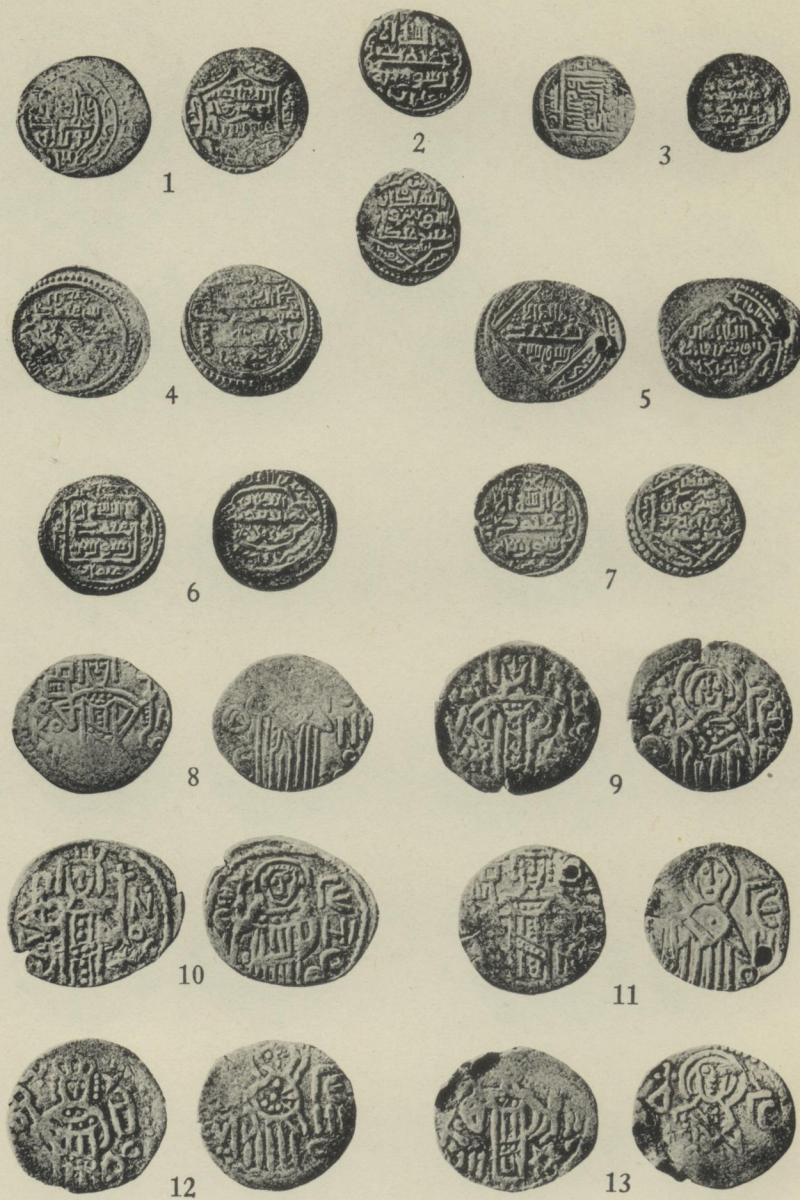


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IL-KHANS: ABU SA'ID (1-7); ARPA (8);  
 MUHAMMAD (9); SULAYMAN (10);  
 ANUSHIRVAN (11)





IL-KHAN: ANUSHIRVAN (1-7);  
IMITATIONS OF TREBIZOND ASPERS (8-13)



IMITATION OF TREBIZOND ASPERS (1);  
AUTONOMOUS COPPERS (3-5); SAFAVI SHAHS (6-8)





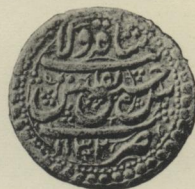
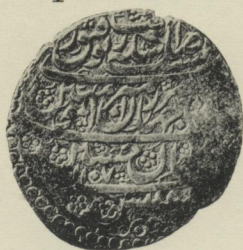
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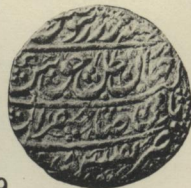
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9



SHAH SULTAN HUSAYN (1-3); KING BAK'AR (4-6);  
SULTAN AHMAD III (7-8); SHAH 'ABBAS III (9)



NADIR SHAH (1-6); T'EIMURAZ II (7);  
SHAH IBRAHIM (8-10)





SHAHROKH (1); T'EMURAZ II (2)  
EREKLE II (3-10)



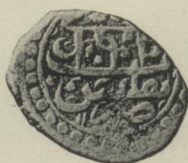
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EREKLE II (1-4); GIORGI XII (5-7)





RUSSO-GEORGIAN SERIES